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# Public Administration

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# ***The Present State of Teaching and Research in Public Administration***

By WILLIAM A. ROBSON

*Professor Robson gave this address, as Chairman of the Executive Council of the Royal Institute, to the Annual General Meeting on April 27, 1961.*

**T**HREE has been in recent years an immense increase in the demand for education and training in public administration throughout the world. This is due to several causes, such as the growth in the functions of the state, the increased scope and depth of the powers entrusted to executive organs, and the sheer complexity of much public administration today. The impact of public services on the lives of ordinary citizens is much greater than it was in the past, and this has brought the individual into much closer contact with public authorities at many different points. We all have relations nowadays with the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance, with the National Health Service, with the Inland Revenue, etc. The ordinary man has thus become much more aware than formerly of the way he and his fellow citizens are treated, and much more ready to make a fuss about any defects or shortcomings. Public authorities of all kinds are increasingly conscious of the need for continuous improvement in their standard of performance.

In the undeveloped countries there is a tremendous drive for rapid economic and social development. The governments of these countries, and of those who wish to help them, are beginning to understand, however, that without good organization and management, a properly trained and educated civil service, effective delegation, and a reasonable standard of honesty in both civil servants and ministers—to mention only some of the most elementary requirements—the ambitious plans which they have adopted are unlikely to succeed, with potentially serious consequences for political stability and public morale. Indeed, an advance in public administration is for many countries an indispensable prerequisite of social and economic development. For this reason training in public administration has become an important part of the technical assistance given by the United Nations, by the U.S. International Co-operation Agency, and under the Colombo Plan. UNTAA has established no fewer than eleven training centres in public administration in Latin and Central America, in Asia and Africa. Students of public administration from all these countries flock to our universities.

This great thirst for knowledge of the theory and practice of public administration is stimulating and encouraging to those engaged in teaching the subject. It makes them feel that their efforts are needed and appreciated ; but it also raises certain problems, which have not yet been squarely faced. The principal ones are : How far are the conceptions and practices which work

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well in one country (or even in several countries) suitable for nations which have a widely different history, social structure and culture? How far, indeed, can we regard as universally valid the lessons of experience and the body of ideas which we ourselves accept? One may not be able to answer this question in any final way, but just to ask it is a chastening and health-giving exercise. It enables both the teacher and the student to become aware of the fact that public administration does not operate in a vacuum, but is conditioned by the psychological, sociological, historical and economic background of the society. I do not deny the possibility or even the existence today of universal truths in our discipline; I merely assert that they are much more complex, tentative and conditional than were the so-called "principles" confidently enunciated by the exponents of an earlier generation.

Now let me turn to the home front. In the United Kingdom we try to observe a distinction between education and training in public administration. The former is regarded as the province of the universities while the latter is left to public authorities, or to professional bodies such as this Institute, or to bodies concerned with particular categories of officials or particular kinds of work. I think this distinction is on the whole a sound one, though there is bound to be some overlapping.

There has been a steady growth in the university teaching of public administration during the past twenty-five years at nearly all the centres of higher education in these islands. There are still a few universities in Britain where the subject has not yet been established; but on the whole it is advancing, though not everywhere as rapidly as one would wish to see. An increasing number of technical colleges are also engaged in teaching the subject.

Most of the work done in public administration at British universities is taken as part of a first degree in political science, economics, or other social studies. A good deal of the teaching is embodied in courses on British government, or central government, or local government, or comparative government. In such courses the political and constitutional aspects of government are brought into organic relationship with the administrative aspects. There are also more specialized courses on the social services, on administrative law, or on problems of public administration. These often form part of the curriculum for Diplomas of Public Administration and other professional diplomas.

The degrees attract large numbers of students who do not intend to seek a career in official life; and this is highly desirable. In a democracy an understanding of the institutions, ideas and processes of government should form part of a liberal education. This occurs on a fairly large scale in the social science faculties of our universities, with the result that students who will one day be among the leaders of business and industry, banking and insurance, farming and shipping, as well as those destined for the public services, are getting to know something about public administration. This must be to the ultimate advantage of both the governors and the governed. I should like to see the same applied to scientists, doctors and technologists.

As a learned society devoted to the study of public administration we are

#### TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

specially interested in the education and training of public officials. In general the policy in this country has been not to require pre-entry training for any of the public services except the professional, scientific, or technical grades, or for men and women who become school teachers. Administrative, executive, and clerical officers are recruited on the basis of their general education.

This liberal recruitment policy possesses many advantages ; but just because it accepts young men and women as civil servants or local government officers solely on the basis of their educational attainments (in whatever subjects they may have studied), it is all the more necessary that they should receive at the post-entry stage some systematic insight into the study of public administration and those other social sciences which can help to illuminate the background of their work.

This does occur now in the local government service, where large and increasing numbers of administrative, technical and professional officers employed by local authorities sit for the examinations of the Local Government Examinations Board. The examinations themselves are much less important than the fact that most of the brighter and more ambitious young officers are now reading, writing and thinking systematically about public administration in order to prepare themselves for the Diploma of Municipal Administration. This is a big advance.

The Civil Service is still struggling to overcome its traditional belief that public administration can be learned only by doing ; that it is an art but not a science. (Actually, of course, there is both a science and an art, just as there is a science of medicine and an art of healing.) Civil servants can now take a Diploma of Government Administration under the auspices of the Local Government Examinations Board, and quite a few of them do so ; but the proportion is very small. The facilities available to local government officers and civil servants for studying the subjects comprised in these diplomas are inadequate in many parts of the country. To remedy this the Local Government Examinations Board has recently had its terms of reference enlarged, so that it will in future concern itself (in co-operation with the Provincial Whitley Councils) with improving the educational facilities for candidates preparing for its examinations.

The volume of training now being given in the Civil Service is very large. It has expanded in many directions since 1945. Some of it is very good—I have participated in some of the residential conferences for members of the Administrative, Executive, Scientific and Professional classes and was much impressed by the level and quality of the discussions. Valuable work is undoubtedly being done both by the Training and Education Division of the Treasury, and by the training people in other departments.

#### DEFECTS IN CIVIL SERVICE TRAINING POLICY

There are, however, three defects in the Civil Service training policy. One is that the programmes consist exclusively of a number of short courses, varying in length from a few days to three weeks for the junior administrative course for Assistant Principals. When we compare this kind of thing with the three-year

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course provided for recruits in the highest grades of the French Civil Service ; or the six-months' course taken by cadets entering the Indian Administrative Service, one feels that our brief training courses are unlikely to get below the surface of any problem. Superficiality is more than a danger. It has become almost a doctrine.

A second weakness is the absence of a central staff training college. There is, I believe, a crying need for a centre which would serve as a focus for training in public administration. Here again we are lagging behind what has been achieved in several other countries. If a training college is set up, I hope it will cater not only for the Civil Service but also for local government officers and the staffs of nationalized industries. And I hope this Institute will be invited to participate in the direction and the work of the college.

A third weakness in Civil Service training is the rapid turnover of staff engaged in the task. The belief appears to be held in the Civil Service that no-one should remain on training duties for more than about three years—just long enough, I should think, to enable them to learn how to do the job.

The nationalized industries are required by law to provide training and education facilities in order to advance the skill of their employees. I have recently reviewed at length the training programmes of the principal public corporations \*; and they are certainly extensive. Sustained efforts are being made by the gas and electricity boards, the airlines and the railways, the B.B.C. and the National Coal Board to provide management development courses intended to train officers to become higher and middle managers. In some cases there are management development courses for junior technicians. Some of the public corporations have their own residential training centres, such as the Woking Staff Training College.

A few members of the Civil Service, of the local government service, and of the nationalized industries, attend the courses of the Administrative Staff College. A handful of civil servants, both professional and administrative, receive Harkness Fellowships, Nuffield Foundation Fellowships, Webb Research Fellowships at the London School of Economics and Political Science, Simon Research Fellowships at Manchester, the Gwilym Gibbon Research Fellowship at Nuffield College, or similar awards. These opportunities for prolonged study and reflection by men of exceptional promise in mid-career are of great benefit to the public service ; but they are far too restricted at present. It is surprising that the public authorities do not take the initiative in sending men to the universities at public expense to engage in advanced study and research in subjects relevant to their work. This is badly needed in public administration.

#### BRITISH AND AMERICAN APPROACH

What is the nature of the teaching in public administration which is given at the present time in Britain ? In the universities the approach tends to be partly historical, partly descriptive, and partly analytical. It is also becoming increasingly comparative, as interest in and knowledge of other systems of government grows. University teaching in Britain is usually concerned with such topics as

\*W. A. Robson, *Nationalized Industry and Public Ownership*, Chapter XII

the organization and structure of public authorities, their functions and responsibilities, the administrative, executive and judicial powers of executive organs, the relations between the executive and the legislature, public finance, judicial review, centralization and decentralization, delegation and devolution, accountability and control, planning and co-ordination, the relation of politics to administration, personnel policy, and so forth.

On this side of the Atlantic we have avoided, or at least not emulated, the abstract approach which characterizes the work of American exponents such as Herbert Simon, Chester Barnard, Edward Litchfield, or Philip Selznick. They are attempting to distil the quintessence of the administrative function, and to analyse the process of decision-making, regardless of what type of body is involved or the nature of the matter to be decided. The American school has turned away from the formal and institutional aspects of government to the informal and psychological relationships within and between administrative organizations. It is concerned with motivation and communication. A good deal of the work is less securely anchored in empirical investigation than some people realize ; and the psychological foundation is often shaky.

The American school has undoubtedly broadened the scope of the subject, but the work of some of its exponents is so abstract and remote from the world of practical affairs that it fails to carry conviction. In some ways it has affinities with abstract art, which makes no attempt to represent objects in the real world. Some writers attempt generalizations of the widest scope, applicable to all kinds of administrative bodies in all countries. Some of these attempts resemble an effort to produce a treatise on ball-games, as distinct from studies of golf, or tennis, or football, or polo, or baseball.

Despite its limitations, present-day general administrative theory is mainly due to the work of American political scientists, so far as treatises and textbooks are concerned. In the past, leading English thinkers such as Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and the Webbs made great contributions to the theory of public administration ; but in recent decades, any theorizing we have indulged in is to be found embedded as inarticulate major premises in the pages of blue books dealing with such matters as the Civil Service, or administrative tribunals, or the machinery of government.

The best work in this country is not abstract but highly realistic. It deals with important problems of public administration which arise in specific fields, such as the Civil Service, or the social services, or local government finance, or public accountability, or town planning, or nationalized industries, or Greater London, or the needs of underdeveloped countries, and so forth.

We are, I think, dealing with the right subject-matter ; and I believe that it is better to try to define, to examine, and to solve the problems which arise in particular spheres of public administration rather than to devote our energies to discovering what are the features of administration common to managing the Mexican army, "The Daily Mirror" chain of newspapers and periodicals, a universal Church, the Communist Party, Manchester Town Council, the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Guy's Hospital. There is much to be said for the pragmatic British approach ; but I should like to see much more field-work than seems to have been done in recent decades. Few studies have

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appeared showing how government departments really do their work—I can say this after having read all the volumes of the New Whitehall Series. And what do we really know about the administration of the National Health Service? Or the relations between the medical and the lay personnel on the Regional Hospital Boards, the Hospital Management Committees, and the Executive Councils?

#### NEED FOR MORE RESEARCH

Most of the work for higher degrees is at present concentrated in the universities of London, Oxford, and Manchester. There is a need for much more research and post-graduate work in the field of public administration than is at present taking place in this country. This is true of most of our universities, whose help is seldom invoked by government departments, Royal Commissions or departmental committees when engaged in investigating difficult administrative or social problems. Too much reliance is still placed in official investigations on the so-called "evidence" of heavily committed interests, whose testimony is mainly concerned with grinding their own axes. The assumption that the truth will emerge from the interplay of sectional interests before a body of laymen is untenable. Independent investigation by disinterested and professionally qualified staff using modern techniques would usually be much more successful.

In conclusion I want to say a few words about the work of the Institute in the field of teaching and research. In both fields we have made substantial advances since the Second World War. Before the war the Institute had no research programme; no major research projects of its own; no research staff or research groups; it was dependent on desultory and spasmodic suggestions for research which often came to nothing. On the teaching side there were no regular training courses of any kind. The position today is much more promising.

On the other hand, we are doing far less than we could do in both these spheres. The Institute is supported by H.M. Government, by many local authorities, by the great public corporations, and by several of the hospital boards. So far, however, we have not been asked to carry out investigations on behalf of any of these public authorities. While the Institute's research programme should be determined mainly by our own views of what needs investigation, I hope the Institute, no less than the universities, will come to be increasingly used by public authorities as bodies to whom they can entrust research projects, where necessary under contract. This happens on a large scale in the physical and medical sciences and in the engineering faculties of the universities, but only one or two departments have followed suit in the social sciences.

On the teaching side, the Institute and the universities have an important part to play in communicating what is best in British thought and practice about public administration to the newly independent and the emergent countries of Asia and Africa, as well as the Near East and Central and South America. That we should make a notable contribution here is in the widest public interest. I hope the new Department of Technical Co-operation will recognize the role which the Institute could and should fill in this vital sphere.

# *The Civil Service Administrator and the Expert*

By SIR JAMES DUNNETT, K.C.B., C.M.G.

*This lecture was delivered to the Royal Institute of Public Administration by the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Transport on 10th April 1961.*

IT is not easy for a Permanent Secretary still in office to give a lecture of this kind. It is a well known principle of our public administration that, like well brought up Victorian children, Permanent Secretaries should be seen but not heard except by the Public Accounts Committee. I am very conscious of the fact that since I have been at the Ministry of Transport, circumstances have forced me to be heard a good deal more than is wholly desirable or comfortable.

My second main reason for doubt is that anything that a Permanent Secretary says is inevitably regarded in some way as the voice of the Establishment. For example, I may have views about the proper remuneration of top technical staff and, of course, in a really frank lecture on the subject on which I have been asked to speak, the whole question of the recruitment of technical staff and their remuneration is a factor of some importance. If, however, I were to pursue this particular subject, anything I said would, I am sure, come under the scrutiny of the eagle eye of the Secretary of the IPCS who would not, I feel, refrain from using it, were it to his advantage, in his running battle with Their Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury.

Thirdly, administration is a delicate art and resembles politics in that it is also the art of the possible. Thus, one may feel that in certain of the areas for which one is responsible certain changes might be in the Department's interest. Man is, however, a conservative animal and the pace at which he can be led to see the truth or what one believes to be the truth is a matter of delicate judgement.

Fourthly, Permanent Secretaries happen to be rather busy people with not much time for extra-mural activities.

I have mentioned these points not wholly by way of an apology in advance but because I think they have some bearing on the general problem of administration as it affects a government department. Certainly, in my view, the Secretary of a department is a good deal more circumscribed than the Managing Director of a large business. You may say that his job is different from that of the Managing Director of a large business and while I think that there is something in this point of view, I will try to show later that in my opinion there is a good deal more similarity in being the head of a large department (certainly of some large departments) and of a large business than is often realized.

## MEANING OF THE TERM 'EXPERT'

So much by way of introduction. Coming now to the matter on which I am asked to talk to you, I think I ought to begin by considering what one means by the expert. I imagine most of you when confronted with the subject of my talk

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would think immediately of scientists, engineers and architects and indeed from the choice of the speakers who have spoken earlier in this series that is clearly the field with which the Institute would wish me to deal. All these people are, of course, experts in their own fields. But I do not think that this is the end of the matter. Businesses, as you know, are calling more and more for the assistance of economists. They, too, I think, are clearly experts and, indeed, since I have been in the Ministry of Transport I have felt that if we are to plan our transport policy sensibly we must have at any rate some idea of what the transport picture is likely to be in twenty years' time. For such an exercise sound and imaginative economic advice seems to me to be essential. Indeed, I find it at times somewhat galling to read articles in economic journals based to some extent on evidence one has oneself given to Select Committees which then draw the conclusion that government departments ought to have better economic advice but that those responsible in the Civil Service are slow to appreciate this. How with the current shortage of economists with the qualities required they are to be attracted into the Civil Service is another question.

But let us go a bit further. The Executive Officer who has spent the whole or the best part of his life on contracts work or on accounts, is he an expert or is he not? I would say positively that he is. And, finally, even when one comes to the administrator pure and simple, this stark distinction between the administrator and the expert seems to me to be a dangerous one unless we are quite clear what we mean by it. Is the administrator who has spent most of his working life on financial control of very large sums of public money, as many do in the Service Departments, or on legislation or indeed on establishment work not an expert in his own field? Indeed, he is.

#### THE POSITION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

I often feel that some of our difficulties spring from the fact that administration as we know it in the Civil Service has no esoteric language of its own. The physicist and the mathematician inhabit a world which is largely a closed book to those unfamiliar with the symbols and the language they use. Because as administrators the tools of our trade are the King's English I sometimes feel that our scientific colleagues on occasion regard it as a trade that anybody with reasonable intelligence can pick up, if not overnight, at least in a short time. I detect as a result that in departments responsible for large scientific programmes there is occasionally a tendency for the scientist to look at the administrator as a necessary appendage, as somebody who may or may not get him the money he needs, as somebody who will keep him out of trouble but not as somebody who is going to have or is capable of having any great effect on policy.

Let me hasten to add that this remark is in no sense a criticism. After all, I think it not unfair to say that in the hundred years in which it has existed in more or less its present form, the Administrative Class has not been without a certain intellectual arrogance of its own. What more natural than that with the tremendous advance of science, there should be areas in which the scientist feels that the mantle of intellectual superiority has passed to him. Moreover, I think

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we must face the fact (which is one to which I refer later) that in some of our highly technical departments there is comparatively little day to day political work in the sense in which it is understood in departments such as the Home Office, Housing and Local Government, Labour, and the Ministry of Transport, to choose only a few examples at random. It is after all in the highly political departments that the qualities of judgement and political experience which the administrators are supposed to possess are and are seen to be so indispensable.

Now, I think it is very difficult to generalize about the administrator and the expert throughout the Civil Service. I can speak from my own experience in a Service Department, in a fairly technical department, such as the old Ministry of Civil Aviation, a highly technical department such as the old Ministry of Supply, and my present department the Ministry of Transport which is highly technical in some areas and in others in my opinion not yet technical enough. I cannot speak first-hand of other departments.

### *The Head of a Department*

I do not propose to spend much time on considering what the role of the administrator is as such, as it is familiar to most of you. I would, however, like to say this. The head of a government department is required to shoulder three main tasks. Obviously, he is the Minister's senior adviser on policy over the whole field of the department's activities. In a department with so wide a spread as the Ministry of Transport for one, that is a pretty demanding responsibility. Secondly, as Accounting Officer he is responsible for all the department's financial affairs. In big spending departments (the Ministry of Transport, for example, are now spending more than £100 m. per annum on road construction and maintenance, directly or by way of grant) this is a demanding responsibility also. And, finally, he is ultimately responsible for the management of the department and for all promotions. Whether the qualities required for all these roles are likely to be found in one man or woman I sometimes doubt.

### *Selection and Training of Administrators*

However, there are one or two things about the selection and training of administrators that it might be worth while touching on. Some years ago the Civil Service celebrated the centenary of its existence in its present form ; and I am bound to say that I read with a little disappointment some of the lectures delivered on that occasion. There is no doubt that the distinguished gentlemen who set up the Administrative Class as we know it in the middle of the nineteenth century created a remarkable instrument for the requirements of their time, and the achievements of the Service in the last 100 years are proof of the quality of the work they did. I might perhaps remark incidentally that, as Mr. Noel Annan observes in his book on Virginia Woolf's father, that distinguished man was once heard to remark that he could not understand why any man of ability should put himself to so much trouble for so small a reward.

The fact remains that the Service has throughout these many years attracted men of high ability. To take only one example, I doubt if the Home Civil Service has ever been given the credit it really deserves for the extraordinary work done prior to and during the last war. However, while there may well be some departments whose functions will continue to be broadly the same as those which they have exercised for the last 100 years, there are others now grappling with tasks not on the horizon when the present Administrative Class of the Civil Service was devised. I am not suggesting that any large changes are necessary, nor do I want to give the impression that I might have any magic solution myself. Certainly, I do not think that potted courses in science are in any way the answer. I do, however, feel from my own experience that the introduction of men of ability from other professions during the war and who have stayed on since, has given the Service, in the areas which have been strengthened in this way, a vigour and vitality which it might otherwise not have had. These things happen almost naturally and without premeditation in a war. Would it not be worth while asking ourselves whether the Service has not in fact been strengthened because of what happened in this way, and that it might perhaps be worth considering whether something similar might not be done in peacetime even on a very limited scale? After all, there is, I think, a danger, particularly in civil departments, that even if we actively foster the movement of the best of our staff between departments, departments can become somewhat inbred and a little bit self-satisfied.

Moreover, I think we have got to ask ourselves a good many questions not only about the type of administrator we need for certain functions in the future, but what type of expert advice we need. The Civil Service has large numbers of scientists and engineers, and considerable numbers of architects. A department like the Ministry of Transport, however, has now an extremely important responsibility for that not inconsiderable section of the country's economy covered by the British Transport Commission. Most of you will be familiar with the steps now being taken to reorganize that body. A reorganization does not, however, by itself solve the national problems involved and the Ministry of Transport must inevitably be deeply involved with the whole question of what the future of the railways is likely to be. In discharging this task the Ministry of Transport has no technical officers; nor am I suggesting that we should seek to duplicate the engineers, mechanical, electrical and civil, that the railways employ. On the purely financial side we can and do supplement our resources by calling on top professional advice from the Accountancy Profession. But on the economic and scientific sides, our own resources are minimal, if existent at all, and there is room here, I think, for some self examination. I touch on this matter again a little later in my talk.

#### *Differences in Administrative Work*

In the letter which the Royal Institute sent me asking me to give this lecture, they asked me in particular to deal with the question of the problems of the administrator in advising his Minister on questions with important technical

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aspects and his dealings with his technical colleagues on day to day business. Here again I think that there is a danger in assuming that the tasks facing the administrator in all departments or indeed in all parts of the same department are broadly similar. There is, I think, a tendency for the administrator to look at himself rather too exclusively as the man who advises the Minister on policy. I sometimes detect a view that quasi-diplomatic work is at the top of the scale so far as administrative work is concerned and that more mundane tasks such as formulating and carrying out a road programme are what the Greeks would have called *banausos*, rather below the dignity of a gentleman. But I think we have got to face the fact that increasingly government departments are doing much more than merely advising Ministers. Many of them are, in effect, running big businesses. Clearly, this is true of the Service Departments. The Service Departments are running very large businesses indeed. It is true of many other departments as well, for example, the Ministry of Aviation. The Ministry of Transport again is responsible for formulating and ensuring the timely execution of a road programme now ten times the size of what it was six or seven years ago, and for formulating and controlling an investment programme including the sums spent annually by the B.T.C. approaching £300m., to say nothing of the Commission's revenue deficit of more than £100m. a year, which is now met by payments above the line. The Indian Civil Service had the problem of the secretariat chap and the district officer. We have a not dissimilar problem in the Home Civil Service.

#### PLACE OF THE EXPERT

Let me come now to the expert. As I have said, the problem is one about which I think it is difficult to generalize ; and, indeed, when one looks from department to department or indeed even inside one department one finds very considerable differences. We are in the Civil Service perhaps inclined to be a little conservative ; once an organization has been set up in a certain way we are perhaps inclined to let it run on in that way without too much self-examination, or much examination of how things are done in other departments and organizations. On the shipping side of the Ministry of Transport, which was until the war the Mercantile Marine Department of the Board of Trade, the Government certainly since the middle of the nineteenth century has intervened quite positively in the affairs of the shipping industry in the interests of the safety of passengers and crews. Here effectively it is the administrator who advises the Minister, though he, in turn, is advised by a highly professional technical staff of marine and nautical surveyors and marine engineers. On the other hand, when one comes to the road side of the Ministry a good deal of administrative responsibility rests on the Divisional Road Engineers. This was the way things were set up when the Ministry was formed in 1919 and this is the way it has since continued. I am not expressing any view as to whether one particular organization is right or another is wrong or whether both may not be right. I am merely saying that organizations tend to get set up in a certain way to meet a certain need at a certain time and provided things function reasonably well, natural conservatism leaves them to continue in the same way.

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The point I am trying to make was put very well in another context by Bruno Walter in an article on conducting an orchestra which I came across after I had written the preceding paragraph. What he said was as follows : " Among the difficulties he (the conductor) has to overcome on his road towards this goal, one of the most serious is the power of habit and complacency which I am constrained to call a professional disease of orchestras. How well do I remember from my first years as a conductor the frequent reply made by older musicians to my corrections : ' Well, I have always played it this way.' Whether their resistance to a change or innovation expressed itself verbally or—which was almost worse—in the passive form of standing by their convictions in hostile silence, I experienced what a great, inimical power I was challenging in my fight against habit."

Let me add that departments are not wholly self-contained units and that there is in my opinion a clear obligation on them to consider their organization and their methods of working not only from their domestic point of view but also to see how far it fits in with other departments and other organizations with which they have to deal. For example, on the internal transport side the affairs of the Ministry of Transport and those of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in, for example, the future planning of our cities must become ever more closely inter-related. It is partly for this reason that we have recently reorganized ourselves on the road side of the Ministry to bring ourselves into line with the organization of the Ministry of Housing. But on top of this we must have regard to the organization of local government itself. I do not think that it is open to argument that since the Ministry of Transport was set up in 1919 the competence and professional standing of the surveyors and bridge masters in local government has greatly advanced. Our organization in the Ministry of Transport must clearly take account of the way in which local government itself works and of the position of the County and Borough Clerks in relation to their own technical officers. I am by no means as much an expert in this field as my colleague Dame Evelyn Sharp but I think that in any review of the administrator and the expert in the field of public administration the way in which the relationship works in local government is a factor of considerable importance, at any rate for those departments who operate in the local government field.

#### ADVICE TO THE MINISTER ON TECHNICAL MATTERS

What then are the problems which senior administrators are faced with in advising Ministers on technical matters ? We have all read so many lectures and papers about the problem of the humanist and the scientist that I think that we are in danger of thinking that there is something very difficult in administrators and experts living together. There is, I think, a problem that needs thought so far as the scientist is concerned in highly technical departments such as my late department the Ministry of Supply, and on this I will have a little to say later on. Let me say, however, at the risk of being provocative that in the various departments in which I have lived I do not believe that the administrator and the engineer need have much difficulty in living together. The engineer is

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after all a man who throughout his professional training and in his early professional years has been responsible for doing things rather than (though not excluding) advancing the bounds of knowledge. He has been brought up in a severely practical field. He has worked on the job and he realizes the place and the importance of money. He thus (or so it seems to me) has little difficulty in understanding and accepting the role of the administrator. I am not suggesting that because of what I regard as this realistic and practical outlook of the average engineer there are no day to day problems. The engineer is rightly proud and jealous of his own proper function and if he felt that this was being eroded, he would have no hesitation in saying so. I do not, however, on the whole find that in dealings between administrators and engineers either side is troubled by any philosophic doubts about the proper role or *raison d'être* of each other.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATOR AND THE EXPERT

This leads me to two other points to which I attach considerable importance. The higher the expert rises in his profession, the more he in turn becomes an administrator. Moreover, the higher the level at which problems must be considered, the more they become matters for general judgement. After all, in the last resort our problems get resolved by the Cabinet which, like the English jury, is non-technical and representative in a broad way of the wisdom of the country. Thus, the relationship between, say, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry and his Chief Engineer is essentially a partnership. I have seen the analogy used somewhere that the Permanent Secretary is the conductor of the orchestra. An analogy of this kind does not seem to me wholly satisfying. It was after all John Stuart Mill who objected to conductors on the grounds that they enjoyed despotic powers. In fact, it seems to me that the relationship is essentially one of trust and mutual respect between the various parties concerned. On all such problems as the proper size and broad scope of our road programme ; are we right in certain circumstances in constructing motorways of dual two lane rather than dual three lane carriageways ; ought we to light all our motorways ; ought there to be tolls on motorways ; are we saddling posterity for 100 years to come with inelegant bridges on our motorways in order to build fast and cheaply now ; are our contracts procedures designed to give us the best value for the least money ; on all these problems the engineer and the administrator are working closely together. I can think of no case since I have been in the Ministry when we have had to call on the Minister to resolve a difference of opinion between the Chief Engineer and myself. Should such a difficulty arise I should certainly regard it as my duty to represent as fairly as possible the views of the engineers and, indeed, these would be on the file for the Minister to see. The grounds on which a senior administrator might be likely to take a different view might be either financial or of a political nature, e.g. that the course proposed would be unlikely to command support in Parliament or the country. In the last resort if the Minister proposed to over-rule the Permanent Secretary on a financial point, the Permanent Secretary can, as

you know, ask to be covered in writing, but I have only known of one case in my career where such a course was even seriously contemplated.

Having paid this tribute to the engineers, let me hasten to add that I am not suggesting that there are no problems. There is one which I think is a very real one. The engineers in the Ministry of Transport do not actually build anything themselves. They are, of course, very closely in touch with the Road Research Laboratory on research into new methods of road construction, they are responsible for the broad specification of new road schemes and they exercise close control over the design of new bridges. Detailed planning of roads, however, site surveys and the supervision of actual construction are undertaken for the Ministry either by consulting engineers or by local authorities. I have little doubt in my own mind that the fact that the Ministry builds no roads itself must have some effect on our ability to recruit good young engineers, and I think it must have some effect on the morale of our engineering staff generally. This is a problem which has, of course, faced other departments as well, and I understand that in other fields architects, for example, who have come into senior posts in government departments have stipulated that they should be allowed to do some actual constructional work themselves.

It is not for me in this lecture to propound a solution to this problem. I have little doubt that any suggestion that the Ministry should itself undertake the detailed design and supervision of road construction even on a limited scale would encounter opposition from the authorities and bodies who at the present time undertake this work for the Ministry. I believe, however, that there is a problem here and that one solution that might at some stage be explored might be a greater movement of staff between central and local government.

#### *Staff Management and Organization*

Before I leave the subject of engineers there are two other things I would like to say. First, as I mentioned earlier, one of the important functions of a Permanent Secretary is to be responsible for the running of the department and for all promotions. This includes the promotion of technical staff. Clearly, however, he would be an unwise Permanent Secretary who in matters connected with the promotion of technical staff did not work in the closest conjunction with his senior expert. Here again I look on the senior administrator and the senior expert as forming a team and I certainly have found from my experience that given people of sound judgement on both sides it is rarely that any serious difference of opinion occurs.

Secondly, there is the question of the organization inside a Ministry between the experts and the administrators. At levels up to Assistant Secretary, I do not myself believe that any very serious problems arise. It is, of course, of vital importance that the administrators and technical staff should be working very closely together which, I think, in particular means that their offices should be adjacent. Above Assistant Secretary I agree that a problem can arise and I believe that in some departments there is some arrangement for the

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senior administrator and the senior expert to be, as it were, joint heads. Clearly there must be a point where the two sides are, as it were, brought together and I think it probable that this could not be above Deputy Secretary level. I do not say this with the salary scale in mind. I think on the whole we are inclined to be too salary conscious in organization matters in the Civil Service. After all the senior technical officer must feel that he has free access on any matter which he feels important to the Permanent Secretary and it would be at that level, subject always to reference to the Minister, that any major point of difference was resolved.

It is, in fact, just because most of our technical staff realize the role of the administrator and appreciate the extent to which he can help that this kind of problem can, I think, be resolved without undue difficulty. Occasionally, of course, where this general appreciation is not forthcoming, the issue can become one of importance. One finds this, I think, most often when people are introduced from, say, a research establishment into the day-to-day business of a large department without any previous experience of how a large department functions. You may in such circumstances find a technical officer who regards it as his task to draft papers for the Minister, or to prepare letters for the Minister to send. This is a clear waste of resources and it is after all an attempt by one type of expert to do the work for which other experts are available. However, as I have said, my experience is that cases of this kind arise infrequently.

#### *The Use of Architects*

I do not propose to try and discuss the position of architects in this lecture, partly because the Ministries with which I have been associated are not perhaps so closely connected with the architectural profession as other departments such as Housing, Health and, indeed, the War Office. I ought, however, to say this. The planning of motorways raises considerable problems of amenity and while the landscape architects' profession probably does not feel that we have made as much use of their services as we ought, we are very conscious of our responsibilities in this respect. Moreover, I have no doubt that in the immensely difficult task of deciding how in our cities we are to accommodate the motor-car and the roads it needs without destroying the amenities of our cities as places in which we live, the planning architect is going to have a very important role to play.

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADMINISTRATOR AND SCIENTIST

May I come now to the scientist. I will comment a little later on the rather special problem of a highly technical department such as the Ministry of Aviation, but I would like to deal first with the problem as it confronts the Ministry of Transport. On the roads side, research, as you know, is concentrated

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in the Road Research Laboratory which was at one time under the Ministry of Transport. A number of years ago a Select Committee recommended that it should be transferred to the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and this was done. A couple of years ago another Select Committee recommended that it should revert back to the Ministry of Transport. I do not want on this occasion to argue the pros and cons of whether the Road Research Laboratory should remain with D.S.I.R. or should revert to the Ministry of Transport. Much can be said on both sides. What I feel pretty strongly is that the more the scientist can see and in a way be connected with the day-to-day problems with which a department is faced, the better for him and for the engineers and administrators who work in the department. I know it can be argued that the scientist should not be distracted from his essential task of expanding the bounds of knowledge. In a practical business, however, such as road making it is the engineer who has to supervise the contractor and who has to carry the responsibility if a new form of road construction does not work.

More generally in the field of transport as a whole I cannot honestly say that I think we have yet solved the problem of bringing scientific knowledge and ability adequately to bear on our problems. There are of course various D.S.I.R. establishments such as the Hydraulic Research Establishment at Wallingford, the Ship Testing Tank at the National Physical Laboratory and the Mechanical Engineering Establishment in Scotland. We are, however, living in times when all are, I think, agreed that technical advance in the field of transport is going to be very rapid. We are after all investing very large sums of money per annum in railways for which the amortization period cannot be less than twenty to twenty-five years. What is the role of the railways going to be towards the end of that period? Quite apart from the development of the conventional aeroplane, where are we likely to be ten years hence, with the hovercraft and jet lift generally? I do not know what the answer to this problem is. I doubt whether the appointment of a Chief Scientist as such is the answer. The field is so large and the complications so great that it would require a man of exceptional genius to be able, as it were, to cover the field on his own. I have little doubt, however, that we have not yet managed to harness sufficient scientific thought to the problems with which the Ministry of Transport is now faced.

Then again there is shipping and shipbuilding. Any of you who have read the recent report from the Chamber of Shipping will realize that they have come firmly to the view that if the Government is prepared to spend such very large sums on research and development in the aeronautical field, there should be something similar for shipping. Moreover, our more forward looking shipowners are very conscious of the fact, to take only one example, that ships have been loaded and unloaded in a pretty unscientific kind of way without much change for as long as ships have existed. Is this the best that can be done in this day and age? Nobody has yet said exactly what research is required, but I am myself clear that this is yet another field where the Government, not only because it would have to find much of the money, if money is to be forthcoming, but because it employs so much of the scientific talent in the country, inevitably has its part to play. So I believe that in this field the civil departments have

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problems which they have not had to face before on anything like the same scale of bringing scientific knowledge and experience to bear on these matters.

### SUMMARY OF PRECEDING ARGUMENTS

May I sum up broadly what I have been trying to say? If one takes a Ministry like the Ministry of Transport (and I think it is particularly interesting because it comprises within a single department so many different types of administrative work) my main points are as follows:

- (a) There is a large block of administrative work where the role of the high grade administrative officer brooks no question. If one takes, for example, that part of the Ministry's internal transport side which deals with the licensing and insurance and inspection of vehicles, driving tests, and road safety in all its aspects, the extent of political and public interest and the volume of legislation are truly enormous. I can think of nobody better than the trained administrative officer to deal with this work. In fact, to do it well long administrative experience is essential and the administrator in this field is by any standards a real expert.
- (b) Government departments like the Ministry of Transport are required to carry out in other fields, such as marine safety in all its aspects, duties which may be generally described as regulatory. Here again, the general experience and wisdom of the administrator is of essential importance.
- (c) Thirdly, the Ministry of Transport, unlike departments like the Ministry of Labour and the Board of Trade, with whose functions it has similarities on other sides of its work, is directly responsible for a large and growing road programme. Here it is directly in the field of management and the administrators and the engineers must be working very closely together.
- (d) Fourthly, in the Ministry of Transport we are intimately connected with all the new problems that arise in connection with a nationalized industry as important, controversial and financially encumbered as the British Transport Commission. I do not yet believe that we have wholly solved the problem of the relationship between government departments and nationalized industries in this field, or of the resources a department should have to carry out its duties.
- (e) Fifthly, we are becoming more and more involved in the problem of science and research generally. There is not only the problem of our relationship with the Road Research Laboratory, there is the whole problem of the scientific approach to the future of transport, shipping and ship-building and our ports.

And I ought perhaps to go on to say that the senior administrator has, of course, a wider responsibility still. It is, if I may say so, very right that the Treasury should seek to bring Permanent Secretaries into close contact with the problems of central government. It is very helpful certainly for those involved

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that a number of Permanent Secretaries should be members of the Economic Planning Board and of other similar organizations where central economic policy is considered. The corollary of all this is that the senior civil servant must have time to think not only about the problems of his own department but how much of the resources of the country he and his department can reasonably ask to be allocated to their particular needs. Officers capable of functioning in this way should not have had too narrow a specialization in their early years.

And may I say this? It is wrong to think that there is merely a problem of the relationship between the administrator and the expert. There can equally be a problem between the expert, e.g. the engineer who has a practical job to do in a defined period of time and the expert, e.g. the research scientist who has no such direct practical responsibilities placed on him.

## PROBLEMS OF HIGHLY TECHNICAL DEPARTMENTS

May I now touch on the problems which arise in a highly scientific department such as the Ministry of Aviation now is, and the Ministry of Supply when I was a member of that department. I speak with some hesitation since I am no longer a member of that department and the views I feel like expressing may well not be shared by those who are now in that department.

We must, of course, first remember that in a Ministry like the old Ministry of Supply and the present Ministry of Aviation, the organization, which after all has its roots in the organization of the Service Departments, is radically different from that of the normal civil departments in that the technical staff, engineers and scientists, normally report to a Controller who in turn reports to the Permanent Secretary. The Deputy Secretaries operate as it were, in parallel with the Controllers. One effect of this is that what I may broadly call the executive responsibility is carried by the Controllers and to that extent the administrator has more time at his disposal for the duties of financial control and policy direction. Whether this form of organization has any application outside the defence field I would not like here and now to say. Obviously, it is not without its difficulties. On the other hand, it largely gets over the difficulty in a department which has large executive responsibilities that the administrator does not find himself required both to provide the momentum required to get things done and to be the informed critic.

At the level of day-to-day administration, however, I believe that with the extreme complexity of modern equipment, such as guided weapons, new kinds of problems are arising. In so far as the task of the administrator in this field is to be responsible for the expenditure of very large sums of money and to advise how far proposed projects fit into the general defence picture, his task is now becoming one which I think many civil servants would feel daunting in the extreme. After all, we have had forty years of development with the aeroplane and aero-engine and although the average administrator certainly cannot and should not indeed seek to become an expert in these fields, he can without too long in the field acquire enough knowledge to ask the right questions, to express informed views about the probable cost of new projects and to exercise control

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of expenditure. In a completely new field like guided missiles, however, it is becoming a good deal more difficult for the administrator to exercise his traditional role of criticism and financial control in this way. Frankly, I do not know what the answer to this particular problem is. It is, of course, one which faces industry also, who not infrequently find that their own estimates of the probable cost of projects are as wide of the mark as those made by government departments. It does not seem to me that some kind of short course in science is really the answer.

## LAST THOUGHTS

There are four other things that in the time available I should like to say.

First, I think that the responsibility and the scope of the work of our technical staff is growing the whole time. To take only one example, with the great growth in the interest of European countries in the design of motor vehicles, and the standardization of technical parts, the Chief Mechanical Engineer in the Ministry is becoming more and more a man who is required to speak in the interests of British industry at international meetings. This growth in recent years has, in my opinion, enhanced the responsibilities and difficulties of this particular post.

Secondly, I sometimes think that we could profitably spend a good deal more time in studying how other countries are coping with the kind of problems we ourselves have. Every country in the world, for example, has a problem of what to do about its railways. We are just a little bit inclined in this country to think we know more about administration than anybody else and that we have little or nothing to learn from other countries. I do not believe this to be true. In particular, it seems to me that the French educational system breeds a type of highly intelligent engineer who has been largely responsible for the remarkable developments that have taken place in France in recent years, not least in the development of their railways. Moreover, the flow of staff from industry to government and back which takes place on such an exceptional scale in the United States, though not applicable as it operates to conditions in this country, does have certain merits which should not, I think, be underrated. A civil department in the U.K. seems to me to be in some danger of becoming ingrown. In the Service Departments there is, of course, a perpetual flow of Service officers in and out of Headquarters which means that new ideas and new thoughts are perpetually being injected. This movement does not occur in the average civil department and there are dangers, I think, in this.

Thirdly, after I had largely written this talk I came across in a lecture\* by Sir Charles Snow a passage which stated so clearly what I have been trying to indicate are the problems facing the administrator and the expert that I have no hesitation in quoting from it. I would not myself wholly agree that it is only

\*Sir Charles Snow's article on "The Scientist in Government," *The Sunday Times*, Magazine Section, 2nd April 1961, p. 23. This was an extract from his Godkin Lectures to Harvard University, since published by Oxford University Press under the title *Science and Government*.

the scientist and not the administrator who can provide the vision required or that by any means all scientists can make the contribution to which he refers but as a general statement of the problems facing those engaged in public administration I think it wholly admirable. This is what he said.

"One of our dangers is that we are beginning to shrug off our sense of the future. This is true all over the West, though to a lesser extent in the United States than in the old societies of Western Europe. We are becoming existential societies—and we are living in the same world with future-directed societies. We seem to be flexible, but we haven't any model of the future before us. In the significant sense, we can't change. And to change is what we have to do.

"That is why I want scientists active in all the levels of government. By 'scientists' here I mean people trained in the natural sciences, not only engineers, though I want them too. Scientists proper include a number of speculative and socially imaginative minds. Some of them will provide a quality which it seems to me we need above everything else. I believe they have something to give which our kind of existential society is desperately short of: so short of that it fails to recognize of what it is starved. That is foresight.

"Foresight is a fairly rare quality. It is not quite knowledge. It is much more an expectation of knowledge to come. It is something that a scientist, if he has this kind of sensitivity latent in him, picks up during his experience. Scientists have it within them to know what a future-directed society feels like, for science itself, in its human aspect, is just that.

"That is my deepest reason for wanting scientists in government. I have the greatest respect for the English professional administrators. They are extremely intelligent, honourable, tough, tolerant and generous. But they have a deficiency.

"By temperament, active men, the nature of their jobs tends to make them live in the short term, to become masters of the short-term solution. Often, as I have seen them conducting their business with an absence of fuss, a concealed force, a refreshing dash of intellectual sophistication, a phrase from one of the old Icelandic sagas kept nagging at my mind. It was: 'Snorri was the wisest man in Iceland who had not the gift of foresight'."

This brings me to my last point and indeed it was perhaps the only point which I really wanted to make in this lecture. I think if one looks at the relationship between the administrator and the expert one sees that the dramatic results are achieved when an administrator with ability and imagination and an expert with the same qualities come into conjunction. The achievement of the late David Nenk in the field of school building and the architects with whom he was associated shows, I think, what startling results can be achieved when an atomic fusion of this kind occurs. Obviously, such dramatic results cannot occur often and require a particular situation and a particular conjunction of individuals. At a lower level, however, I believe the problems we are discussing are resolved by a working together of those in responsible positions, both administrators and experts, so close as almost to be called a marriage. After all, we must, I think, admit that the whole training of the administrator and the very nature of his job makes it right and proper that he should be a cautious animal. To look to the administrator also as the man who should give an organization its dynamic

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impulse seems to be putting on him an additional responsibility which it should not be his to carry. What I do regard it as his function to do, however, is to ensure that his department has available in the ranks of its experts men of the quality and imagination to provide this dynamism and by advice and sympathy to create conditions in which they can do their best work. I know, for example, from many talks I have had with a distinguished Prison Governor, now retired—a man, I may say, who would not have made the mark he did in the prison world but for a large streak of unconventionality—what a difference it made to the work he could achieve to have sympathetic administrators in his parent department. I shudder to think during the years in which I worked with Sir Owen Wansbrough-Jones how many hours in and out of the office we must have spent in each other's company. In so far as we were able to achieve anything of value to the State during those years I am sure it was due very much more to this relationship than any other combination of factors.

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## Work Study and Incentives in a City Department

By E. BREWER

*Mr Brewer is Senior Lecturer in Management Studies at the Oxford College of Technology. He has been closely associated as consultant with the installation and working of the incentive bonus described. Mr Brewer wishes to express his thanks to Mr H. H. Crawley, the Oxford City Water Engineer, for permission to use information about the Oxford Scheme and its results.*

THREE years ago a work study investigation was carried out in the Water Department of the Oxford City Corporation. It resulted in the introduction of new methods of main-laying, the measurement of work content and the introduction of incentive bonus payments for the manual workers concerned. Evidence is now available from two years continuous working and this shows that costs have been reduced, labour turnover has fallen to negligible proportions and a greater volume of work than hitherto has been carried out with a less than proportionate increase in the number of workers employed. Before examining this evidence and its implications in more detail, it is proposed to explain briefly what Work Study means in this context and what such an investigation entails.

The term Work Study refers to two complementary techniques, method study and work measurement, both of which are used in an effort to achieve greater productivity.

Method study embraces a number of simple techniques, now used also in O and M work, for recording what is actually done and how it is done. In the case of main-laying a gang or crew chart shows in columnar form a time scale of the parallel activities of the excavator driver, pneumatic drillers and pickmen. The examination of such a record may show that there are periods of enforced idleness for each member of the crew in turn and that a re-arrangement of duties and/or a reduction in numbers will result in an optimum performance. Another useful technique in such a situation is that known as activity sampling, whereby visits to the site are made at random or at regular intervals of time. The information gathered at these visits is taken to indicate, within the calculable limits of error of statistical samples, what takes place throughout the whole day.

### AN INCENTIVE BONUS BASED ON WORK MEASUREMENT

Work measurement refers to the specific techniques of assessing a worker's performance. Unless it is possible to relate performance or effort to a commonly accepted scale the question "how long will it take one man to dig a 10 cubic foot hole in blue clay," is as useful as the question "how long is a piece of string." The only practical method we have of dealing with this problem is that introduced into this country by Charles Bedaux about 1926. This technique is based on the concept that a competent worker applying himself diligently to

his work can be given an 80 point rating. A worker paid at the normal hourly rate or without any bonus incentive scheme will work at a 60 rating or even less. It is possible, by training, to implant successfully in the minds of observers this concept of a 60/80 rating scale. There is always a margin of error implicit in this practice since competent practitioners might be expected to differ within a range of plus or minus five points about their own average, when assessing identical worker performance. This, however, has not proved to be a great weakness in practice, for the most important factor is that the trained rater tends to be consistent in his error and is much less prone to arrive at generous or inadequate times than is the exponent of the older practice of "rate-fixing." If then a worker is observed to complete a simple task in 2.4 minutes and is rated at 70 points on the 60/80 scale, it can be said that the competent worker applying himself diligently to the same task could be expected to complete it in 2.1 minutes, i.e. 70/80ths of 2.4. This is referred to as the "standardized" time, i.e. the performance which could be expected of a suitably trained worker operating under incentive conditions, an 80 point rating being considered to be standard performance. However, this pace of work cannot be kept up throughout the working day without incurring fatigue and a compensating allowance is introduced to balance this fatigue element. This allowance cannot be the same for all tasks, since the fatigue factor varies from task to task and within a task itself. Hand excavating of wet clay is obviously more tiring than excavating light sand. A variable allowance will therefore be added to the standard time so as to ensure that the work content of different tasks can be equated. In the example given earlier, the fatigue allowance might be 25 per cent. in which case the standardized time is increased to 2.62 minutes.

There are also other additional allowances to be considered. It may be the practice to pay for the tea break, to allow some time at the start and finish of a shift for changing clothes and boots and for cleaning tools. It may be found that some time is unavoidably lost each day in receiving instructions, waiting for instructions or for other reasons. In total this may mean a further addition of 10 per cent. and therefore in this particular example the time actually fixed as standard performance would be increased to 2.83. These calculations are related to the wage system and translated into an incentive bonus scheme in the following manner. It is assumed that a 60 point rating is normal working speed with any incentive scheme. The 2.83 minutes in this example are therefore converted into "normal units" or "work units"; 80/60 of 2.83 equals 3.77 work units. If this time is beaten a bonus is paid. The amount of bonus to be paid usually derives from the assumption that the achievement of standard time, i.e. the 80 point rating, deserves payment of a bonus of one-third of the bonus rate, which may be the basic hourly rate or some other agreed rate. If, for example, the agreed hourly and bonus rate for main laying is 4/- per hour, the achievement of the task in 2.83 minutes would bring a bonus rate of one-third of 4/- or 1/4 per hour. If, however, the time taken is anywhere between 2.83 and 3.77 the bonus rate would be proportionately less—the time taken is 3 minutes, say, then the performance is  $\frac{3.77}{3} \times 60$  equals 77 on the 60/80 scale and the bonus rate is 17/20ths of 1/4d. per hour or 1/1.6d. per hour.

## WORK STUDY AND INCENTIVES IN A CITY DEPARTMENT

Most incentive payments in common use are therefore based upon a strictly proportionate (straight line) curve which is calculated to commence paying bonus for any performance over a "normal" or 60 rating and to pass through a point which would pay an additional one-third on the hourly base rate for a "standard" or 80 rating performance.

It will be noticed that if the workers had previously worked at a 60 rating such a rate of payment would not in effect reduce labour costs, but this is not generally the case. If, as sometimes happens, the previous performance had been nearer a 50 rating, then an increase of output of 20 per cent. would be obtained before any additional payment is made. It is this aspect of the situation that gives the introduction of an incentive payment an added attraction to the employer, apart from the effect of spreading fixed costs over a greater output. If an increase in total output is not required the introduction of the scheme will mean that fewer workers should be needed for the same job. This issue must be faced at the outset and can usually be overcome by not replacing staff as they leave.

The financial incentive payments may be made in a variety of ways. There are scores of named incentive plans but all fall within seven well-defined groups. The basic concept is that of piecework, the payment of a fixed price for a given unit of work. Originally this implied "no work no pay" and inefficient supervision was not necessarily exposed by a high labour cost. The existence of a guaranteed hourly base rate demands efficient supervision and work measurement provides the means whereby the quantities of work done can be related to this base rate.

A piecework earnings curve gives a high reward for good performance but workers in certain situations may feel, for various reasons, that the increase in output given before bonus begins to be earned creates an unjust situation. In some cases, therefore, it may be preferable to introduce what is called a stabilized earnings curve. This is devised so as to allow a bonus to be earned at a lower rating, e.g. when a 45 or 50 rating is improved upon. Normally the curve is arranged so as to give a lower bonus in the higher reaches of performance and the base rate may be lower than the negotiated normal hourly rate. It has the effect of reducing the earnings of fast workers and increasing the earnings of slow workers. Or it may be used to reduce earnings in very good conditions of work so that earnings in poor conditions are safeguarded. This approach is often viewed favourably by trade union officers who are knowledgeable in these matters. It is not essential that the bonus rate should be the negotiated base rate. A notional rate, greater or less may be appropriate in certain situations, e.g. where workers in a team are paid at different hourly rates. Experience and mature judgment is necessary to arrive at the bonus rate that will result in the required response from the employees concerned.

The effect on quality of a faster pace of work with reduced numbers of men has to be considered, particularly when the product is promptly buried under varying amounts of rock as in mainlaying. This can be countered by offering rewards for good quality and deducting penalties for bad work. The method of payment to supervisors raises another problem. Supervisors can be paid a bonus based on the efficiency of their men but at a higher base rate. They may also be offered higher rewards and incur penalties for quality of work done.

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Every effort has to be made to ensure that supervisors have an adequate incentive to maintain a good performance, free from any sense of grievance.

Sufficient has been said to indicate that method study, work measurement and the provision of incentives warrant serious study by employers. But it should be pointed out that the provision of work unit values for tasks also has an important bearing on planning and cost control. In so far as planning is concerned, the work content of jobs can be assessed in advance with reasonable accuracy and the correct labour force assigned for the correct length of time. In fact this becomes obligatory in order to ensure that the workers will have the opportunity of earning a bonus approximating to one third of the bonus rate. The work measurement data also provides an accurate basis for cost estimating and subsequent control. The work units can be costed weekly as a cost per standard hour or cost per 1,000 work units. This figure will vary weekly according to the efficiency rating achieved, amount of lost time and so on, since it is the quotient of the total wage bill and of the total work units produced.

Four other ratios are useful in work of this nature. They are :—

$$\text{Cost performance} = \frac{\text{productive work} \times 100}{\text{Attendance time}}$$

$$\text{Sectional performance} = \frac{(\text{productive work} + \text{travelling time}) \times 100}{\text{attendance time}}$$

$$\text{Pay performance} = \frac{(\text{productive work} + \text{travelling time} + \text{lost time}) \times 100}{\text{attendance time}}$$

$$\text{Pay performance on site} = \frac{(\text{productive work} + \text{lost time on site}) \times 100}{\text{Time spent on site}}$$

Before leaving this subject it is important to emphasise that work measurement is an integral part of method study, for the latter carried out without careful observation of times taken and assessment of worker performance will not provide an accurate comparison between the old method and the proposed new method. It is fashionable in some quarters at the present time to decry the use of incentive bonus schemes and it is often inferred that if these are not contemplated the need for work measurement is eliminated. This is not so and the use of the stop watch for timing and the concept of rating are central to the techniques of work study.

## WORK STUDY AND INCENTIVES IN A CITY DEPARTMENT

### THE RESULTS IN OXFORD

To return to the Oxford investigation and bonus scheme. The investigation was carried out with the full consent of the City Water Department employees, their trade union officers and of the City Council. The investigator formed the opinion that the main laying gangs were staffed with conscientious and hard-working men. But being of a traditional size, each gang was overstaffed and the overall cost performance was only 60 per cent. It was recommended that the size of gangs generally should be reduced and in the case of the one laying 24 in. mains this should be seven men and not thirteen as was customary. It was further recommended that the work-content should be measured and the men concerned paid an efficiency bonus. These proposals were accepted by the workmen, their trade union officials and by the City Council. A detailed scheme was drawn up, the aims of which were :

- (a) to increase output ;
- (b) to save money in carrying out works ;
- (c) to reward initiative and better methods on the part of manual employees ;
- (d) to encourage men to stay with the Department by giving them the opportunity of earning higher wages.

The scheme was introduced mainly by the Water Department's own staff. An assistant engineer, together with a young man, fresh from seven years with the Royal Marines, were trained at the Oxford Technical College and on the site prior to the introduction of the smaller gang and the payment of incentive bonus. Then for some weeks the consultant visited the site daily, assisted with new time studies, the setting of new standards and checked the daily calculations for bonus purposes. Since September, 1958, the Water Department staff have carried on without outside assistance. Recently because of the increased number of men working under incentive conditions a bonus clerk has been recruited so that the salaries of two full-time young men are now chargeable to the scheme.

The results of the scheme, based on records for two years are as follows :

#### *Increased output*

The length of main laid by direct labour increased from 13,713 yards in 1956, to 20,575 yards in 1960 with an increase in labour force from 45 to 49. Labour cost as a percentage of total capital cost decreased from 23.4 per cent in 1956 to 22.55 per cent. in 1960 despite increases in negotiated wages rates every year. In the case of 24 in. mains the average labour cost per yard laid by direct workers has fallen from £7 in 1956 to £5 2s. 0d. in 1960 despite average increases in negotiated wage rates of 7.06 per cent; 11.66 per cent., 16.4 per cent and 18.8 per cent cumulatively over the four years.

The cost performance on the whole of the gangs on the incentive scheme up to the present time is 90 per cent as against a mean of 60 per cent three years ago, in other words the output of men working under the scheme is half as much again as that before the bonus scheme was started.

The data given below refers to an exceptionally good performance on one day by a gang of six men laying 24 in. pipes and illustrates the method of calculating the pay and cost performance indices.

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1,620 cu. ft. of yellow clay excavated at .756 work units per cu. ft.	=	1225
4 pipes laid and jointed at 48.62 work units per pipe	=	194
1,134 cu. ft. back-filled at .53 work units per cu. ft.	=	601
108 cu. ft. of bedding ballast laid at 1.24 work units per cu. ft.	=	134
6 Trench supports put in and taken out at 80.4 work units each	=	482
4 Maple Welds at 22.1 work units each	=	89
44 lorry miles at 16 work units per mile	=	704
7 lorry loads received and tipped at 31.7 work units per load	=	222
<hr/>		
Total earned minutes	=	3651
Lost time due to rain	=	410
Travelling Time	=	140
Unmeasured Work	=	270
<hr/>		
Grand Total	=	4517
<hr/>		
Total attendance Minutes	=	2992
Pay Performance	=	4517
		$\frac{4517}{2992} \times 60$
	=	90 Point rating
		or 150%
Cost Performance	=	$\frac{3651}{2992} = 124\%$

Reference to the stabilized earnings curve shows that this performance figure pays the men 1s. 1½d. per hour and the ganger 1s. 4d. per hour. In an attempt to safeguard quality 5 per cent. of the total weekly bonus due is withheld until a pressure test has been carried out. In the event of the work being unsatisfactory this sum would be lost. In fact this has happened on one occasion only.

*Increased Earnings*

Mainly because the bonus scheme was introduced at the same time as marked improvements were being made in group organization and mechanization, the scheme was based on a stabilized earnings curve. If bonus payment had been commenced only when a 60 rating had been passed it would have been difficult to convince the men that they were being fairly treated for it was clear to them that their average output had increased. It was arranged, therefore, that bonus should begin at a 45 rating. At an 80 performance this was settled to yield 10½d. per hour. The average increase in wages earned by the men during the first two years of the scheme was 6d. per hour.

## WORK STUDY AND INCENTIVES IN A CITY DEPARTMENT

### *Retention of Labour*

The retention of workers since the incentive scheme was introduced has been remarkable as the following table illustrates.

Year	Number of men starting work with Department	Number of men leaving work with Department	Average Number of men employed
1954	29	27	41
1955	15	12	44
1956	12	10	45
1957	15	14	45
1958	15	8	47
1959	4	3	48
1960	8	3	49

### *Savings*

The net savings to the department in two years are estimated to be not less than £5,000 after payment of bonus, increased clerical staff and other additional costs.

It can be said without hesitation that the scheme has enabled the Water Department to achieve the aims it set for itself. The problem remaining is to extend the scheme so as to embrace all manual workers in the department ; no mean problem in view of the variety of tasks performed and the peculiar nature of some of them.

Finally, one may hazard the opinion that there is great scope for work study in the manual operations of local government departments, provided that it is done competently, with the full co-operation of the employees, their trade union officials and the Council's representatives.

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## *Another View on the London Government Royal Commission*

By PETER ROBSHAW

*The Secretary of the London Labour Party is very critical of the main recommendations of the Royal Commission on London Government. A summary of the Report and an appraisal by Professor Robson were published in the Spring issue.*

THE Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London makes fascinating reading. Enlivened with brilliant flashes of wit, the Report is a serious study of the problems of local government in Greater London. Most reasonable people would agree with Professor W. A. Robson's assertion in the Spring number of *Public Administration* that "the Report... is an extremely important document...", although there will be many, experienced in the practise of local government, who will be at variance with Professor Robson's stated reasons. Professor Robson says that we have reached a critical turning point in the affairs of Greater London. Others took a similar line, as, for example, the Conservative London Municipal Society. Have we? There was no evidence in Professor Robson's article to support that view.

The notion that local government in Greater London is on the point of collapse is one which I cannot for one moment accept. Would the community be able to provide more and better education within the Royal Commission's proposed educational framework than it does on the present basis? Would the Children's Service be run more efficiently if it were fragmented between fifty-two authorities rather than nine councils as it is at the moment?

Local government is about people and their needs. The criterion of a sound local government structure should be "Can we devise it to provide better community services qualitatively as well as quantitatively" rather than "Can we devise a tidy scheme." The humanity of local government is in danger of being lost if we try to force community needs and services to fit a tidy administrative scheme or an academic theory.

### PLANNING IN GREATER LONDON

Perhaps the main problem before the Royal Commission was that of Greater London planning and the traffic needs of the area. True, there is no single local government body responsible for keeping the planning problems of Greater London under continual review. It might be argued, however, that the Minister of Housing and Local Government could and should co-ordinate Greater London planning by knitting together the fringe ends of the nine separate Development Plans in the Review area, as he has to do in other conurbation areas.

#### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

No one can dispute the weight of evidence that the Greater London area now presents a very different planning picture from that studied for the Abercrombie Plan in 1944.

Add to this the fact that planning and traffic matters have been divorced (in fact they were never really married) and it became obvious that some solution must be found if Greater London is to be effectively planned for the future. A properly co-ordinated road and road/rail network needs to be devised, population distribution needs to be settled for the whole area, a substantial re-location of industry is necessary whilst the decentralization of commercial undertakings in central London demands a wider-than-County approach.

But the Royal Commission's proposal to set up a Council for Greater London as the Development Plan authority with the proposed Greater London Boroughs being responsible for planning control is too short-sighted and narrow a solution. The Council would be the planning authority for urban London not Greater London. The Commissioners' assumption that the boundary of the Review area may be reasonably expected to contain the urban area of Greater London for the next generation is a big assumption.

Unless a bigger planning authority is established for a London Region than that proposed (not less than Abercrombie's London of 1944) for regional broad economic planning, and affording some protection to London's Green Belt, planning for Greater London will remain a pipe-dream.

Planning and traffic could effectively be linked in a Greater London Board responsible for determining major planning objectives and the existing county councils and county borough councils could prepare their Development Plans within that framework with the advantage of detailed, intimate knowledge of their own areas. Where not already undertaken, some delegation of planning control functions could be effected to the lower-tier authorities with departures from the Development Plan being decided by the top-tier.

#### EDUCATION

The treatment of the education service by the Royal Commission seems odd to say the least. After roundly condemning delegation as it applies outside the County of London (paragraph 264) the Commissioners propose a scheme of things for education which in essence is delegation. No matter how one may try to wriggle round this, the fact is that the proposed Council for Greater London would be the local education authority and the Greater London Boroughs would be responsible for day to day administration. What is this but delegation?

Financial control of the entire service would be the responsibility of the Council for Greater London and the Boroughs would be required to work within a budget devised by the Council. Is this not a situation which by its very nature is likely to give rise to bad relationships between the two levels of authority for education, with not less mutual recrimination than delegation is alleged to produce?

The term "local education authority" as applied to the Council for Greater London is a contradiction. Education policy and expenditure would be

#### ANOTHER VIEW ON THE LONDON GOVERNMENT ROYAL COMMISSION

determined by the Council for about 1,100,000 pupils in some 3,500 schools taught by over 40,000 teachers. Can anyone seriously argue that in such a scale the Council could be considered as a local education authority?

The powers of the Council should not be underestimated. They would include responsibility for the education development plan, determining (after consultation with the Boroughs) the extent and type of schools in its area, methods of selection at 11-plus, special schools for the handicapped, teacher training, scholarship grants, allocation of teaching quotas to the Boroughs, ownership of schools and colleges in its area and lastly, budgetary control of the whole service including the cost of the day to day administration in the Boroughs. This is a formidable list.

The Boroughs' functions governed by the fourteen "statutory principles" laid down in paragraph 829 of the Report, would be clearly restricted by the eleventh principle which states "The Council should be financially responsible for the whole service."

The County Council's education service would be broken up amongst the eighteen Greater London Boroughs and the Council for Greater London, the powers of the Divisional Executives and Excepted Districts outside the Administrative County of London would not be enhanced and the difficulties inherent in delegation intensified, for if the scheme of delegation became statutory it would *ipso facto* become less flexible than under current arrangements.

Education has been allocated to the Council for Greater London to give prestige to its deliberations and public interest to its proceedings. The education service appears to have been subordinated to the totally unconnected demands of such services of planning and traffic in Greater London. Even ardent supporters of the outline of the Report have shaken their heads so far as the Commission's proposals effect education. It is largely true that what is bad for education is not good for local government.

#### THE PERSONAL SERVICES

The claim for a substantial transfer of some personal health and welfare services to the Metropolitan and Municipal Boroughs is legitimate and justified. Local and personal services need to be administered as close to the recipient as possible although the patient is much more interested in the nurse or midwife attending to her needs than in the local administrative machinery.

The conferment or delegation of the personal services must of course be consistent with the maintenance of an efficient service and must not unduly overburden the Borough-borne rate. A big advantage of running the major personal services at County level has been the equalizing of the cost through the County precept.

The Children's Service is one of the exceptions to the transfer rule. It was intended by the Children's Act of 1948 that the children in care should not be the Cinderellas of local government. But the Royal Commission's recommendations to fragment the service are likely to create the kind of situation which existed prior to 1948 and which were so strenuously criticized by the

Curtis Committee. In evidence the Home Office reckoned that a Children's Department needed an in-care population of some 200-250 children to sustain an efficient and economic service. Yet it appears (records are not complete) that only four of the fifty-two proposed Boroughs had over 200 children in care in 1959. One Borough (Wembley) had only fifty-nine. The Royal Commission's proposals as regards children would make for a multiplicity of different child-care policies in a concentrated area—could this be of advantage to the children in care?

Of the London County Council's 113 children's homes (to cater for very different needs) sixty-six of them are outside the County Boundary. What is the future of these homes? Some are well outside the Review Area. If the Children's Service is split up and if enough child-care officers can be found to staff the service, some sort of joint arrangements would have to be worked out to administer this complex and important local government function. The Royal Commission themselves recognize this in paragraph 630. Is the effort worth while and would such joint arrangements work as economically or efficiently as the present integrated set-up?

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, whilst recognizing the complexity of the Royal Commission's task and admiring the persuasively written Report, I have reached the conclusion that what is proposed is not good for local government and not good for the community the local authorities are elected to serve.

The financial consequences of re-organization have not been clearly thought out and have created apprehension in Metropolitan Kent, Essex and Surrey.

Seventy-five well established local authorities would disappear to make room for a gargantuan Council for Greater London which by its very size cannot be considered local government as it is understood and fifty-two Greater London Boroughs which for the most part would be artificial units lacking in tradition, cohesion and experience to their local communities.

Finally, in spite of praise which has been lavished on the Report, the fact remains that no new principles are introduced. We would still have two-tier local government in Greater London after a very considerable upheaval of local authority services and with no guarantee that the resultant local government structure would be better equipped to provide improved services than the existing one—and all to support an unproven contention "That we have reached a critical turning point in the affairs of Greater London."

# **Metropolitan Local Government in Canada**

By B. KEITH-LUCAS

*Mr Keith-Lucas has recently returned from being Visiting Professor at Carleton University, Ottawa.*

THERE has been much interest and discussion in the United States and Canada about the recent report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London, for it deals with a problem which is constantly under debate and inquiry in that continent—the government of metropolitan areas. In the United States there are now sitting some dozens of commissions and committees, appointed by state governors and legislatures, to consider such problems, from New England to California. There is a nation-wide Standing Conference on Metropolitan Area Problems, with headquarters in New York, publishing a journal devoted to this topic. In Canada there has been in recent years a series of reports on the metropolitan organization of the principal cities, and much discussion in the legislatures and in the newspapers on the proposed and actual organization of these areas.

It is not apparent from the Report of the Royal Commission on Greater London how far its members considered the experience in these matters of the United States, Canada, or other countries, for the Report makes no mention of such considerations. There can, however, be no doubt of the interest which is shown in North America in the proposals for London. This is partly due to the fact that these proposals are based on two-tier government—the Council for Greater London and the Greater London Boroughs. Such a structure has in it some element of a federal form of government, and a stranger to the United States might perhaps have expected that it would therefore be a form of local government which would commend itself to Americans, and would be found up and down the country.

In fact such a solution is almost unknown ; in some metropolitan areas a few common services are provided on an area-wide basis, but in general the solution adopted for the problem has been one of merging adjoining authorities, or of annexation of the suburbs by the principal city. But such annexation has often been hotly opposed by local tax-payers, with the result that within a number of cities there remain small islands of independence, which, like San Marino or Monaco in Italy, have continued to maintain their autonomy.<sup>1</sup>

Some aspects of federations are to be found in many areas, such as New York and Syracuse, but in only one case has a full-blown two-tier or metropolitan solution been tried in the United States—Metropolitan Dade County, in Florida, which includes the city of Miami and 25 other municipalities,

<sup>1</sup> This occurs also in Canada : e.g. Rockcliffe (pop. 2,000) and Eastview (pop. 20,000) in Ottawa ; Westmount (pop. 25,000) and St. Jean-de-Dieu (pop. 7,000 ; governed by a religious community) in Montreal ; Forest Hill (pop. 20,000) in Toronto.

with a total population of about 900,000. Covering the whole of this area there is also a metropolitan authority consisting of a board of thirteen elected commissioners, working with an appointed County Manager. The system has only been in operation for three years, and it is difficult to assess its achievements; it has made real progress in some directions, but criticism continues in some quarters.

In Canada a two-tier or metropolitan solution has however been tried twice—in Toronto and Winnipeg—and the attention which these two experiments are attracting in the United States indicates that their success or failure may have great influence on the form of local government throughout the continent.

The basic problem in all the larger Canadian cities is the same—a growing city, which has inelastic municipal boundaries. As the population grows, there develops around it a ring of minor suburban municipalities, entirely independent of the central city. It becomes clear that some services can only be satisfactorily provided on an area wide basis, and so *ad hoc* authorities are created. This tendency is carried further by other influences—the constitutional necessity for separate Protestant and Catholic school boards, and a desire to take important services “out of politics” and so out of the hands of the city councils. Thus more and more *ad hoc* bodies grow up with different boundaries. For example, in Winnipeg, before the creation of the Metropolitan Council in 1960, there were separate boards for police, public parks, playgrounds, harbours, hospitals, water supply, sanitation, assessment, rehabilitation of dwellings, town planning, the airport, and public schools.<sup>1</sup> A similar profusion of such bodies is to be found in most Canadian cities.

Once a city has grown like this, the problem of metropolitan integration inevitably arises, and there are essentially two workable answers—federation, or annexation of the suburban areas by the central city.<sup>2</sup> Toronto and Winnipeg have chosen federation, Ottawa annexation, while Montreal, after some annexations, considered federation, and now seems uncertain which policy to pursue.

#### TORONTO

The city of Toronto was incorporated in 1834, and, as the population expanded the area of the city was increased by a series of annexations until 1912. After that, though the population of the area continued to increase, the boundaries of the city remained unchanged, and a number of new suburban municipalities were established around it; today the population of the city is about 660,000, while that of the whole area is 1,500,000. Immediately round the city are twelve municipalities of varying status but, until recently, completely independent of the city council. In 1947 one of these—Mimico—applied to the Provincial Government for an order creating an inter-urban administration area, composed of the thirteen municipalities in the Metropolitan Area, to provide common services; in 1950 the City Council, influenced greatly by the

<sup>1</sup> K. A. Crawford, *Canadian Municipal Government*, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Los Angeles is an example of a third possibility—a complex system of agreement between the county and municipal authorities. The Local Government Commission for England has recommended for the West Midlands another solution—a group of independent county boroughs.

## METROPOLITAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

need for co-ordinated planning, asked for an order under which the thirteen municipalities would be progressively amalgamated into a single municipality. These applications were rejected, but in 1953 there was constituted, under a Provincial Act,<sup>1</sup> a Metropolitan Council, to take over responsibility for the major services in the area. Local patriotism had been too strong for the Government to accept a scheme of complete amalgamation, which would have meant the suppression of the smaller councils, most of whom were strongly opposed even to this federal solution. Under the Act of 1953 they retained their autonomy in matters of local importance—sewers, streets, fire fighting, and water supply. The new Metropolitan Council became responsible for welfare, main roads, bulk water supply, parks, civil defence, and other general services, including supervision of the borrowing of capital by the municipalities and the capital financing of the school boards. For other purposes separate boards were established; police, planning, schools and licensing are each administered by independent *ad hoc* bodies.

But the metropolitan authority is weak; it has few powers, and is torn by the conflicting interests of its constituent parts, each represented on the Metropolitan Council in a way likely to emphasize the rôle of the members as champions of local interests, and delegates from their respective authorities. The Metropolitan Council, with twenty-five members, is composed of a chairman, half the members of the City Council and the Mayor or Reeve of each of the twelve suburban councils; thus the smallest of these, Swansea, with a population of 9,000, has the same voice as the largest, North York, with 228,000 people.

The first chairman of the Metropolitan Council, Frederick Gardiner, was nominated for a one-year term by the Provincial Government, and has been re-elected by the Council every year since then. It is probably greatly due to his personal energy and prestige that the system has worked as well as it has. But in January, 1961, he announced his intention to retire and at the same time proposed that the Council should now consider the advisability of substituting a single unified municipal government for the same area. It does not appear that Mr. Gardiner himself has lost faith in the two-tier system, and the mayors and reeves of the smaller authorities are most unlikely to welcome such a change, but there is clearly a widely felt opinion that the system has not justified itself, largely because of the method of representation of the constituent authorities. One proposal which has been canvassed is that the system should be changed to a copy of the Metropolitan Council of Dade-Miami in Florida, where five members of the Council are elected by districts, each including several municipalities, five are elected at large over the whole area, and three are elected by the electors of constituent municipalities of over 60,000 inhabitants—Miami, Miami Beach and Hialeah. Thus in Dade County the members of the Council are less closely linked to the interests of particular municipalities than in Toronto.

The alternatives to this which are being discussed are a single metropolitan authority with no municipalities within it (as in London, Ontario, and some cities of U.S.A. and English county boroughs) or the retention of the present

<sup>1</sup> Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953 (Statutes of Ontario).

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structure, but with the municipal areas represented in proportion to their populations. But this, of course, the smaller municipalities are reluctant to accept.

Meanwhile, it appears that the Provincial Government has been studying the Report of the Royal Commission on London (England) and is much impressed by many of the arguments put forward. In particular they are attracted by the idea of retaining an upper tier, or metropolitan council, with, as a second tier, substantial municipalities created by amalgamations of the small existing authorities. So they are contemplating a policy of creating five lower tier authorities instead of the present thirteen, and extending the boundaries further into the suburbs. Canadian tradition is however opposed to the large councils that are common in England, and while the Royal Commission on Greater London proposes a Council for Greater London of about 100 members, the Provincial Government of Ontario favours a body of sixteen—three from each of the new municipalities, and a non-elected chairman. No final decision on these matters is likely, however, before the Metropolitan Council concludes its own investigations in 1962.<sup>1</sup>

#### WINNIPEG

While Toronto is discussing the abandonment of its two-tier system of government, Winnipeg has just adopted a rather similar system. The basic pattern is not unlike that of Toronto—a commercial and industrial city which has been expanding rapidly in recent years, the population growing most quickly in the suburban areas outside the municipal boundaries of the city. Between 1946 and 1956 the population of Winnipeg itself rose by 11 per cent. from 229,000 to 255,000, but that of the six major suburban municipalities rose by 75 per cent.—from 72,000 to 126,000. The city itself has retained the same boundaries since 1906, but the rural municipalities around it have become urban, and have been divided and subdivided, until today the city is surrounded by sixteen local authorities of various types and sizes, ranging from the City of St. Boniface with (in 1956) 28,851 inhabitants, to the rural municipality of Old Kildonan, with 1,011. Superimposed upon this pattern was a patchwork of school boards, corresponding generally but not completely to the municipal boundaries, and also a number of *ad hoc* bodies providing services over the whole or part of the area; their services include water, sewers, civil defence, mosquito abatement, transport, and town planning (advisory only).

In 1955 a Commission was appointed, of nominees of the municipalities in the area, to consider and advise on the government of Greater Winnipeg. They visited a number of metropolitan cities in the United States and Europe, including Stockholm, Oslo, Glasgow, Edinburgh and London and were particularly impressed by the system in operation in Toronto and by the organization of London government.

After their travels, and after hearing a great quantity of evidence, they prepared their report.<sup>2</sup> Like the Royal Commission on Greater London, they

<sup>1</sup> *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 15th March, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> *Report and Recommendations of the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, 1959. (The Bodie Report)*.

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considered several alternatives ; a single authority for the whole area ; a series of large independent municipalities ; and a two-tier structure with a metropolitan authority performing some area-wide functions, and smaller municipalities, created by grouping or combining the existing suburban authorities, responsible for more local services. They decided in favour of this last two-tier scheme.

They recommended that the new Metropolitan Council should be responsible for water supply, sewers, main roads, parks, services for children and the aged, police, fire services, assessments, public transport, airports, regional planning, and the financing of education. Other services would be assigned to the lower tier authorities, reorganized into eight medium-sized areas. They suggested that the Council should be composed of the mayors of the eight constituent cities, together with an executive committee, or Board of Control, composed of six members, elected for sectors of the metropolitan area, each including about one-sixth of the City of Winnipeg itself. Thus neither Winnipeg nor the suburban cities would have an automatic majority on the Board, and the members of the Board would not represent the interests of individual municipalities. The chairman, they suggested, should, as in Toronto, be nominated in the first instance by the Government of the Province, and thereafter elected by the Council.

The Commission also suggested, though not as a firm recommendation, that the system of separately elected school boards should be abolished, in favour of appointed boards composed of city council members and co-opted citizens, thus making the school board in effect a committee of the council, as in England.

They also recommended that legislation on the lines of their proposals should be passed without the usual process of referendum, which has so often enabled sectional interests to prevent municipal development in Canada. Their study of English and other European systems had convinced them that the use of the referendum is unnecessary, and may often be dangerous or harmful to good government.

These recommendations were accepted by the Provincial Government with two important exceptions. The scheme of reorganization for education was abandoned as it conflicted with the proposals of another Royal Commission on Education in Manitoba<sup>1</sup> which was sitting at the same time. The recommendations for the constitution of the new Metropolitan Council were also rejected, because local patriotism made it difficult to carry out the policy of reorganizing and amalgamating the suburban municipalities. Without the proposed amalgamations the inclusion of the mayors of the proposed eight new municipalities became impossible, and the Metropolitan Council is composed instead of ten members, each elected by a district which includes a sector of Winnipeg itself and part of the suburban ring, elected by proportional representation (single transferable vote), and a chairman, appointed in the first instance by the Provincial Government. The system which has been adopted may have substantial advantages, in that no member will be a representative of a single second-tier authority ; each will represent a composite area composed partly of city, partly of suburbs. Thus the members are less likely to become

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, 1959.

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delegates from their separate municipalities, as has occurred in the Toronto Metropolitan Authority. The Royal Commission was certainly aware of the virtues of Burke's conception of representation ; they quoted at some length his Address to the Electors of Bristol in arguing against the use of the referendum. The proposal for a separate Board of Control was also rejected. Instead, there is an Executive Director, with many of the characteristics of an American city manager ; he is "responsible for the active management of the affairs of the corporation," and supervises the various Directors, or heads of departments.

This new system was incorporated in legislation<sup>1</sup> and the new Council held its first meeting in November, 1960, under its Chairman, Mr R. H. G. Bonycastle, who had been appointed by the Provincial Government. It has a duty of financial supervision over the borrowing of the separate municipalities and school boards, from whom it is to receive periodical reports. It has taken over responsibility for assessment, town planning, main roads, bus services, water supply, sewage disposal, parks and playgrounds, civil defence, flood control, mosquito abatement and other duties. It has not, however, as yet been given responsibility for fire services or police, which remain in the hands of the separate municipalities.

It is as yet too early to assess the success of the "Metro," but it is obviously starting its work with energy and enterprise. There are, however, indications that there is likely to be some difficulty in establishing satisfactory relations with the second tier authorities, despite the existence of a statutory joint consultative committee. There is also likely to be some criticism as a result of rising taxation, even though this is largely due to a reduction of provincial grants for education, and other causes outside the control of the "Metro." These are dangers of which the Metropolitan Council and its Chairman are fully aware and to which they are giving careful consideration.

#### MONTREAL

The City of Montreal has a history of conflicts and tensions closely related to the politics of the Province of Quebec and the rivalry between the Catholic, French-speaking community and the English-speaking Protestants. It is predominantly a Catholic city, in a Catholic province, but forming part of a national federation within which the Catholics are a minority. It is a part of the Island of Montreal, and in the period before 1918 succeeded in annexing twenty-three minor authorities, and extending its area to over fifty square miles, or about one quarter of the Island. But then the process of expansion ceased ; partly because of the reluctance of the city authorities to assume the debts of the weaker suburban districts, and partly because of the opposition of some of these areas ; no annexation was possible without the authority of a referendum of the local property owners, and some of the residential areas preferred to retain low taxation and minimum services rather than accept the standards of service and taxation of the rest of the metropolis. Thus today the city itself has a population of about 1,100,000, but Greater Montreal has about 1,600,000 with thirty-four separate municipalities (of which six have less than

<sup>1</sup> The Metropolitan Winnipeg Act, 1960 (Statutes of Manitoba).

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1,000 inhabitants apiece). The urban area however extends beyond the Island, including another fifteen municipalities on the mainland.

The city itself was, until the end of 1960, governed by the largest municipal council of Canada. This was composed of 100 members ; thirty-three chosen by the property owners ; thirty-three by the occupiers and owners of property ; and thirty-three by representatives of such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce, the Universities (McGill and Montreal), the Board of Trade and the Property Owners' League ; and a Mayor, elected at large. Since 1921 there had been some degree of co-ordination in the field of finance over a part of the Island in the form of the Montreal Metropolitan Commission, established to supervise the finances of the individual municipalities, some of which had accumulated debts out of proportion to their revenues. It was later given power to plan and build a metropolitan highway through the Island.

In 1952 a commission was appointed to study the metropolitan problems of Montreal, composed (apart from the Chairman) of members of the councils of cities and towns within the region. It recommended,<sup>1</sup> first, that any legislation should "safeguard the local autonomy of municipalities by leaving entirely to each one the administration of its local affairs," but that there should be an over-all "organism of conciliation or arbitration" composed of equal numbers of representatives of the city and the suburban municipalities. It then had second thoughts, and recommended that this body should be endowed with some administrative responsibility for a number of common services over the whole of the Island.

These proposals were not submitted to the Montreal City Council, but, instead, the City Council put forward its own suggestions<sup>2</sup> for a federal structure for the local government of the Island. These, though in some ways similar to the proposals of the Commission, aroused the hostility of the suburban authorities, who feared that they would lose their autonomy in all except a narrow range of services. The City Council had envisaged the Metropolitan Commission, with its limited functions and area, being replaced by a much more powerful body, providing major services over the whole Island, and beyond. Copied in many respects from the Toronto Metropolitan Council, this body would have been composed of representatives of the Montreal City and the mayors of suburban municipalities in equal numbers ; it would have had wide powers in town planning, water supply, highways, police, fire services, social welfare and other services.

So bold a scheme proved to be politically impossible in the face of suburban opposition, and when the reforming act was finally on the statute book, it made only moderate changes ; the Metropolitan Commission was renamed the Metropolitan Corporation ; it retained its previous functions and, in addition, acquired powers to achieve uniformity of valuation over the area, prepare a master plan of roads, and enter into agreements with the municipalities to provide police, fire, health and civil defence services in their areas. But no such agreements have as yet been made. Furthermore, the area of the

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Commission for the Study of the Metropolitan Problems of Montreal, 1955 (The Paquette Report).

<sup>2</sup> A Metropolitan Organism for Greater Montreal, December, 1958.

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Corporation was not the whole Island, but the same as that of the old Commission—about half the Island, with enclaves and exceptions. There is nothing here to compare with the Toronto Metropolitan Council, as Montreal Council, in its report of 1958, had envisaged.

In 1960 there was a change in political power in the City Council, for Montreal, unlike other Canadian municipalities, works on a clearly defined party political basis. The new mayor, Jean Drapeau, accepted in principle the report of another Commission, on the administration of Montreal City.<sup>1</sup> The members of this commission had considered a number of possible schemes, including the American City Manager and the English municipal system. The first of these they rejected as unsuited to so large a city, and the English system they thought unsuitable, partly because of the conflict which they said they had found between aldermen and councillors and partly because of the restrictions on the powers of English authorities. They recognized that Montreal in itself is more populous than some of the Canadian Provinces, and that its council is in fact divided on party political lines. They therefore decided that it should be reorganized to approximate as nearly as possible to the model of a provincial legislature. The indirectly elected members were to be relegated to a merely advisory rôle, and the council was to be reorganized, with a cabinet chosen by the Mayor, who, however, remained as before elected directly by the people at large.

Then, early in 1961, apparently rejecting the earlier hopes of a federal metropolitan system for the whole Island, Mayor Drapeau promoted a bill to enable the city to annex neighbouring areas without the preliminary of a referendum. The suburban authorities saw this as a threat to their independent existence, and as a step toward their forcible annexation by the city. They united to oppose the proposal before the Legislature, and succeeded in getting it postponed for a year. Thus it would seem that the conception of an effective Metropolitan Council for the whole Island is unlikely to be realized in the near future. The new constitution for the city may or may not be better than the old, but the city's relations with its neighbours are no better. The present pattern, with independent islands within the city, and detached portions of the city surrounded by suburban authorities, seems likely to continue, unless the City Corporation succeeds in annexing more of its neighbours. But so long as the system of referendum continues, this is unlikely to be achieved. The so-called Metropolitan Corporation, covering only fifteen out of the thirty-four municipal areas of the Island, and with very limited powers, shows little sign of developing into a real metropolitan government on the pattern of Toronto or Winnipeg.

#### OTTAWA AND HULL

Ottawa, the federal capital, inevitably has problems different from the other cities of Canada. It is practically devoid of industry, but contains nearly 40,000 federal civil servants out of a population of 250,000 ; it is placed on the border of the province of Ontario, separated to the North only by the Ottawa river

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Commission to inquire into the Administrative System of Montreal, 1960* (The Champagne Report).

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from the industrial city of Hull (population 44,000) which is in the Province of Quebec. Above all, as the seat of federal administration, the Federal Government feels a particular interest in Ottawa's development ; it is not, however, the capital of the province.

From time to time suggestions have been made that the city and its suburbs should be included in a Federal District, modelled on Washington, D.C., but such a solution has never won general support. Instead a pattern grew up of a small and thickly populated city area, surrounded by a number of independent suburban authorities, with, across the river, in Quebec, a similar pattern centring round Hull. Within the area of Greater Ottawa a number of separate bodies have been established for special purposes ; public and separate school boards, a Collegiate Institute Board, Transportation Commission, Public Libraries Board, Hydro-Electric Commission, and others. Unique among these however was the Ottawa Improvement Commission, established in 1899 to improve and beautify the National Capital. This was reorganized in 1927 as the Federal District Commission, and again in 1958 as the National Capital Commission, with the task of promoting the proper development of the whole region—some 1800 square miles, lying on both sides of the river. This body, appointed by the Federal Government, was charged with implementing an ambitious plan prepared by Jacques Greber, the French city planner, including a wide green belt and the establishment of a large recreational park and nature reserve in the Gatineau Hills.

The National Capital Commission had power to buy and develop land, but the zoning power was still vested in the separate municipalities. Some of these, heavily weighted by the nature of their composition and franchise in favour of the land owning interests, refused to use their powers to implement the policy of the Commission in safeguarding the Green Belt. The Commission was forced to employ the expensive procedure of purchasing the land, instead of relying on restrictive controls, and there has been repeated friction between it and the municipalities.

Meanwhile the City of Ottawa put up to the Provincial authorities a scheme of annexation to cover most of the suburban area south of the river. Despite the protests of the threatened suburbs the greater part of this was allowed, and in 1950 the city area was increased five fold, from 6,109 to 30,482 acres. Responsibility then passed to the city for building highways, sewers and other services for large areas in which little had previously been done in such ways. There remained however some suburban districts in separate municipalities, and two urban islands of separate jurisdiction—Rockcliffe and Eastview. Despite the apparent inconvenience of these enclaves there appears to be no demand for their incorporation in the city. Rockcliffe is a small well-to-do residential area, where the inhabitants feel no urge for paved side walks, playgrounds or other such services ; they do not want to be brought into the city, nor to pay the higher taxes that annexation might entail. Eastview is a poorer district, with a record of municipal mismanagement of its financial affairs. The City appears to be content to leave it to stew in its own juice, rather than assume its debt burden and problems. So at present these two islands survive, and probably will do so for many years.

In Ontario, as in Quebec, changes in municipal organization only come

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about if a municipality takes the initiative by a petition. There is however no provision for a referendum, but instead there is a hearing before the Ontario Municipal Board—a semi-judicial body, charged with adjudicating on petitions for annexation and applications for consent to municipal borrowing. It also has powers of audit and supervision over municipal finances, but it is not endowed with power to review the general structure of local government, nor to take the initiative in reforms. The provincial ministry is reluctant to interfere in the affairs of municipalities unless it must, for such interference is generally resented. Thus there is no body likely to give the initial impetus to any scheme of reform.

It may be that there is no need for reform, but yet there is general dissatisfaction with the present system. On the one hand there are disputes between the numerous boards, commissions and municipalities; on the other hand the city council itself is not highly esteemed. It consists of a Council of twenty-five, including a Mayor and executive or Board of Control of four members, elected at large in the city, and twenty aldermen elected by wards. The candidates are not elected on party tickets, but fight individual campaigns at their own expense. There is a general feeling that they lack any clear-cut policy and that many of them are too closely connected with real property interests. But at the same time there is no apparent desire for party political organization, partly because of a fear that it would lead to boss government of the sort known in some American cities, and partly because of a feeling that in a city composed so greatly of civil servants, local politics should be non-partisan. A common attitude seems to be that the present system is bad, but anything else might be worse.

Thus the system of local government of Ottawa seems unlikely to be changed for many years to come, even though outside critics continue their attacks.

Only if the Federal Government intervened would any major change be probable, and such action would immediately raise the cry of provincial rights under the British North America Act. Moreover, difficulties would arise from the fact that the metropolitan area lies partly in Quebec and partly in Ontario.

#### GENERAL

Other urban centres in Canada are also faced with the problem of metropolitan growth. In 1960, London (Ontario) annexed the whole of its built-up area, thus becoming a city of 150,000 inhabitants—still too small, perhaps, for the two-tier solution to be appropriate. Calgary and Edmonton may follow the same policy, which was recommended in 1956 by the McNally Commission<sup>1</sup>, neither would then exceed a total population of 200,000 people.

In the area of Greater Vancouver are eleven municipalities, a large university area separately administered, an Indian reserve and some unincorporated areas, with a total population of 800,000 people. In 1957 a Municipal Act of the British Columbia Legislature provided for the establishment of a Joint Committee to consider the desirability of a metropolitan council for the area, and also provided in outline the form which such a council would take, if established. The Joint

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on the Metropolitan Development of Calgary and Edmonton, 1956.

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Committee, composed of nominees of the municipalities concerned, under an independent chairman, has now reported to the Minister<sup>1</sup> in favour of such a metropolitan council, to be made responsible for water supply, main sewers, public health, hospitals, town planning and parks. To these, other duties would probably be added later. The Committee also recommend that instead of the metropolitan council being composed of nominees of the municipalities it should, as in Winnipeg, be composed of people directly elected for areas of the Metropolitan District, all more or less equal in size.

Quebec has in its metropolitan area over 300,000 people, with twenty-nine separate municipalities, five of which have less than 1,000 inhabitants. There is some local agitation for either amalgamation or the creation of a metropolitan structure, but as yet no positive moves have been made in this direction.

In most of these cases, however, there is already an element of metropolitan government in the form of commissions for planning, water supply, and other services covering the whole urban area. It remains to be seen whether out of this will grow a two-tier system of metropolitan government. The ultimate decision will probably be much influenced by the success or failure during the next five or six years of the experiments in Toronto and Winnipeg. If these justify themselves, they may well set the pattern to be copied elsewhere.

To an outside observer there are several striking aspects to this problem in Canada. First, perhaps, is the diversity in forms and structures, springing partly from provincial differences, and partly from a willingness on the part of Provincial Legislatures to allow at least the larger municipalities considerable scope for experiment in their form of government. There is not that rigid application of a standard formula that we know in England, under which the same constitution has to be made to serve for all boroughs, from Birmingham to Blandford Forum ; nor is there the same degree of central control.

A second point which emerges is the effect of the use of the referendum. It is used in Canada for many purposes, including, for example, a provision in Quebec which prevents the adoption of town planning control without the approval of the local property owners, voting in a referendum in proportion to their taxable assessment. The result is a powerful brake on effective planning. So too in relation to amalgamation and annexations of municipal authorities ; the use of the referendum appears to have made a substantial contribution to the retention of small independent authorities in Montreal, when administrative considerations would seem to dictate their incorporation into a larger whole. The Bodie Report on Greater Winnipeg not only advised the abandonment of the system, but condemned it as undemocratic, on the grounds that it imposes on the elected representative "authoritative instructions, mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest convictions of his judgment and conscience."<sup>2</sup>

Also striking to the English observer is the deep distrust of party politics in local affairs, and the preference for a small council composed of substantial local business men. This attitude seems, in part at least, to be dictated by a fear of the worst aspects of American local government—a fear of the shadow

<sup>1</sup> *Final Report of the Metropolitan Joint Committee*, December, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> *Burke's Address to the Electors of Bristol*, 1774, quoted on p. 278 of the Bodie Report.

of Tammany Hall. But it is also partly an outcome of the common policy of establishing separate boards for police, planning, education and other major services, so that a municipal council has comparatively little to do with policy in government, but is primarily concerned with raising taxes for these separate boards. Moreover, in much of Eastern Canada the municipal franchise is still limited to the local taxpayers alone, although in the past few years plebiscites in most of Ontario's larger cities have resulted in a majority decision to extend the franchise to all adult inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> In general Eastern Canada has maintained the doctrine of John Stuart Mill that "as the principal duty of the local bodies consists of the imposition and expenditure of local taxation, the electoral franchise should vest in all who contribute to the local rates, to the exclusion of all who do not."<sup>2</sup>

Finally there is the question of the form of metropolitan government ; or, as it would be called in England, the government of conurbations. The problem is rather different in the two countries. In England, apart from London, the usual pattern is of several towns of more or less equal size growing into each other. In Canada and the United States it is generally a single city, with smaller suburban municipalities growing up around it. And it is only in London that a two-tier or metropolitan system has been adopted in England. Some of the hesitancy to accept such a solution in Canada and the United States may spring from the fact that in a federal nation there are already two tiers of government above the municipal level ; some to a reluctance on the part of provincial or state legislatures to impose a pattern of government on municipal authorities, and some from the determination of the suburban municipalities to retain their complete independence. Behind this to some extent lies the rural bias of the provincial legislatures, which, like the state legislatures of U.S.A., are heavily weighted by the nature of their electoral laws in favour of the rural constituencies, and tend to be unsympathetic to the needs and claims of the expanding cities.

<sup>1</sup> A referendum in Ottawa in 1960 resulted in a majority for such a change, but the City Council has not yet implemented the change.

<sup>2</sup> *Representative Government*, p. 348 in the Everyman Edition.

## QUARTERLY NOTES

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### *The Financial and Economic Obligations of the Nationalized Industries*

IN April 1961 the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented to Parliament a White Paper entitled "The Financial and Economic Obligations of the Nationalized Industries" (Cmnd. 1337). It began by recalling that during the past ten or so years there had been a good deal of discussion about the organization and operation of the industries in public ownership but there had been "no general review of the manner in which the general principles—and, in particular, the economic and financial principles—which were established in the nationalizing statutes have been applied in practice." The Government had therefore reviewed the experience gained and other evidence and had considered "how these principles might for the future most appropriately be applied to the existing nationalized bodies and to the Post Office with its new status". In the course of the review the Government consulted the boards of these industries.

The White Paper states the Government's general policy in relation to the nationalized industries to be :

"First, the task of the Government is to ensure that the industries are organized and administered efficiently and economically to carry out their responsibilities, and that they are thus enabled to make the maximum contribution towards the economic well-being of the community as a whole. Second, although the industries have obligations of a national and non-commercial kind, they are not, and ought not, to be regarded as social services absolved from economic and commercial justification."

Though the economic strength and prospects of the industries differed widely the nationalizing statutes followed a fairly standard pattern in prescribing their economic and financial rights and obligations. This pattern was based on the view that "they were neither straight-forward commercial concerns nor social services, but a combination of both: and perhaps on the hope that the ability to borrow at Government rates would enable them to meet the limited financial obligations prescribed by statute and also to carry out their non-commercial obligations."

The nationalization statutes normally provide that the undertakings should "pay their way," i.e. their revenues should, on an average of good and bad years (or some similar phrase) be not less than sufficient to meet all items properly chargeable to revenue, including interest, depreciation, the redemption of capital and the provision of reserves. Commenting on this provision the White Paper says :

"Thus the Acts prescribe a minimum performance and not a maximum. Moreover, this performance is defined in terms of a surplus or deficit, which

differs from the ordinary definition of profit or loss inasmuch as provision is required to be made from revenue for all the items mentioned above before a surplus in the statutory sense arises. The undertakings were thus expected to make some profits in the ordinary sense of that term in order to accumulate reserves from them.

6. It was envisaged that in some years the nationalized undertakings might have a surplus and in other years a deficit. This provision was inevitable, for fluctuations in general business conditions were bound to affect their financial results, and there is no equity capital to act as a buffer. But if the deficits are inevitable in some years surpluses must be accumulated in good years ; and the period over which an average of surpluses and deficits is struck must not be unduly prolonged.

7. The wording of the Acts implies that the industries should provide out of revenue not only for payment of interest on capital but also both for depreciation and the redemption of capital. If these requirements were stringently interpreted they would impose upon the industries the responsibility not merely of providing from revenue for the maintenance of their capital assets but eventually ridding themselves of capital liabilities. In practice, with the agreements of successive Governments, the industries, like their predecessors, have not been required (nor have they sought) to make provision on this scale.

8. Their practice has varied according to their economic strength, their traditions and the precise nature of their individual statutory obligations. In general they calculate the provision for depreciation in their accounts on the historic cost of their assets. Most of the Boards recognize in their reports that, following the practice generally adopted by industrial concerns, it would be prudent to make some additional provision out of revenue to meet the difference which emerges when prices rise, between depreciation at historic cost and at replacement cost and as a reserve against obsolescence.

9. The Acts also provide for the building up of general reserves and give Ministers power to issue directions as to the amounts. Although some of the undertakings show general reserves in their balance sheets these are in some cases entirely obliterated by accumulated deficits on revenue account. The total retained income of all these industries taken together (including supplementary depreciation provisions, capital redemption funds and reserves) has not been sufficient to provide for the replacement of assets used up in the production process, and this is also the case in most of the individual industries concerned."

The White Paper then turns to the financial performance of these industries. Tables I to III show the annual results first in terms of absolute sums and then as a proportion of net asset (after depreciation).

In explanation of the marked variation in the results the White Paper says " This is to be expected. Some of the industries are expanding rapidly whereas others are contracting: some are exposed to keen competition whereas others have monopolistic elements in them : moreover the weight of non-commercial obligations varies from industry to industry. For all these reasons these financial results cannot by themselves be regarded as indicators of the

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TABLE I

*Balances on Revenue Account and General Reserves*

	Yearly results £ million						£ million	Unallocated reserves and revenue balances carried forward at the end of 1959	As a per- centage of capital em- ployed at the end of 1959
	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959			
National Coal Board ..	-3.5	-19.6	12.8	-5.3	-3.5	-24.0	-52	—	
Gas Council and Boards	1.9	0.8	3.8	2.8	-1.5	-2.4	25.5	4.4	
Electricity Authorities and Boards (England and Wales) ..	18.8	12.2	11.7	16.1	27.3	26.7	127.2	6.5	
Electricity Board (South of Scotland) ..		0.6	1.2	0.5	0.27	0.1	2.6	1.9	
Electricity Board (North of Scotland) ..	0.3	-0.8	-0.2	—	-0.1	-0.03	-0.8	—	
British Transport Com- mission ..	-11.9	-30.6	-54.4	-63.5	-89.0	-73.8	-350.6	—	
British European Air- ways ..	1.06	0.61	0.06	1.08	0.23	1.7	2.28	4.4	
British Overseas Air- ways Corporation ..	-0.03	0.85	0.59	-3.19	-11.36	-0.29	-13.25	—	
Post Office ..	Up to 1955-56 the Exchequer received any surplus		-3.1	+2.6	+8.7	+20.9	27.2	3.1	

TABLE II

*Gross Income (before Depreciation) as a Proportion of Net Assets (after Depreciation)*

	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	Per cent
Manufacturing and distribution ..	20.8	20.9	20.0	19.3	18.3	19.0	
Iron and Steel (55 companies) ..	19.2	22.9	20.6	20.3	17.9	17.4	
National Coal Board ..	10.3	7.7	14.1	10.9	9.8	8.3	
Gas Council and Boards ..	8.2	8.4	8.7	8.8	7.8	7.8	
Electricity (B.E.A., C.E.A., E.C., and Boards) ..	10.7	9.9	9.3	9.6	10.6	10.7	
South of Scotland Electricity Board ..		10.0	11.4	10.1	9.2	9.5	
North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board ..	4.9	3.4	4.8	4.9	5.1	5.4	
British Transport Commission ..	5.1	4.1	2.7	2.4	1.0	2.3	
British European Airways ..	16.8	17.5	14.7	17.4	13.3	16.7	
British Overseas Airways Corporation	12.1	13.2	11.9	6.7	6.4	12.7	
Post Office ..	10.8	10.0	11.6	12.2	12.6	13.2	

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TABLE III

*Net Income (after Depreciation) as a Proportion of Net Assets (after Depreciation)*

	Per cent					
	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Manufacturing and distribution ..	17.5	17.4	16.3	15.5	14.3	14.9
Iron and Steel (55 companies) ..	15.3	19.0	16.8	16.4	14.1	13.3
National Coal Board .. ..	3.1	0.4	6.8	3.6	2.8	1.6
Gas Council and Boards .. ..	3.9	4.0	4.4	4.5	3.4	3.3
Electricity (B.E.A., C.E.A., E.C., and Boards) .. .. ..	5.6	5.1	4.7	5.0	5.7	5.6
South of Scotland Electricity Board ..		4.6	5.7	4.4	4.2	4.4
North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board .. .. .. ..	3.3	1.8	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.9
British Transport Commission ..	2.8	1.9	0.2	-0.6	-2.1	-1.3
British European Airways .. ..	9.3	7.0	4.1	7.8	4.7	8.6
British Overseas Airways Corporation	3.8	4.2	3.4	-0.2	-0.7	3.9
Post Office .. .. .. ..	5.1	4.4	6.9	7.5	8.0	8.6

efficiency of the individual industries. Although the return on capital employed in one or two of these undertakings has been around 8 per cent. per annum net after depreciation at historic cost most of them have over the years earned considerably less than 5 per cent."

As regards the difference in the return on capital between private and public enterprise the Government believe that simple comparisons of this kind—which tend to overlook or understress the differences between the two are misleading. In the words of the White Paper :

"While it is legitimate to look for the same rate of return in a publicly owned enterprise which is fully commercial in its nature and is engaged in the same type of business as private enterprise, the main nationalized industries are not in this position.

14. Many of the industries are, or are akin to, public utilities, where a lower return on capital employed is traditional, partly because of the absence of risk in the business and partly because the earnings of such utilities are normally subject to public regulation owing to the advantages of monopoly which they are believed to enjoy. Although the area of nationalized industry, in which these conditions exist, is continuously shrinking as competition develops, the tradition of low yields, and the restraints which go with it, are still an important element in the situation. Moreover, the fact of nationalization has tended to arouse public expectation that the products and services of these industries should be provided cheaply, and the Boards have been continuously subject to pressure from public opinion to keep their own prices down even when costs and prices elsewhere have been rising. In this way they have contributed substantially to efforts to stabilize prices and their own financial position, as reflected in the return on their capital, has suffered in consequence. The lower rate of

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financial return must also be attributed to the onerous national and non-commercial obligations which the Boards are expected to carry. The Boards, moreover, are for a variety of reasons unable to adjust the expenditures of their industries as rapidly as other industries can when there is a change in economic conditions : and this is of special importance in relation to those industries which are contracting.

15. These considerations readily account for the low return on the capital of the nationalized industries in relation to that on industrial and commercial capital generally. . . . It would, however, be unwise to ignore the risks of damage to the nationalized industries themselves and to the economy generally that are inherent in the present situation. If the profitability of capital development is assessed on different (and easier) financial criteria from those adopted in industry generally, there is a risk that too much of the nation's savings will be diverted into the nationalized industries. Again, if the prices of the goods and services which the nationalized industries provide are uneconomically low, demand for them (and for investment to produce more of them) may be artificially stimulated.

16. Thus the operation of the nationalized industries with an unduly low rate of return on capital is sooner or later damaging to the economy as a whole. It must result either in higher taxation or in greater borrowing by the Exchequer in order to provide for the replacement of their assets and for new development."

#### THE NEW FINANCIAL FRAMEWORK

The Government take the view that there would be no advantage in altering the basic financial and economic principles which the statutes require the nationalized industries to observe. The principles, however, need to be interpreted more precisely and the White Paper proceeds to do this.

As regards Revenue Account the Government consider the financial objectives of the nationalized industries should in general be interpreted to mean :

"(a) Surpluses on Revenue Account should be at least sufficient to cover deficits on Revenue Account over a five-year period : in arriving at the surpluses and deficits for each year there should be charged against revenue the items normally so chargeable (including interest, and depreciation on the historic cost basis).

(b) Provision should also be made from revenue for :

(i) such an amount as may be necessary to cover the excess of depreciation calculated on replacement cost basis over depreciation calculated on historic cost as in (a) above.\*

(ii) adequate allocations to general reserves which will be available *inter alia* as a contribution towards their capital development and as a safeguard against premature obsolescence and similar contingencies."

\*The undertakings would not be required specifically to make good now any under-provision (i.e., on account of the differences between the historic cost basis and the replacement cost basis), which has already occurred in years prior to the operation of these new arrangements.

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The Government take the view that anything longer than five years would be too long for effectiveness. They propose therefore in consultation with the boards concerned "a framework on the above lines for the next five years as an experimental period, but the operation will be subject to review each year in the light of events inside and outside the industry." The Government also take the view "that the State, as owner or guarantor of the capital of the nationalized industries (which are investing over £800 million a year, more than half of which comes from the Exchequer), would expect capital employed in this kind of business to earn a higher rate of return than the cost of the money to the Exchequer. The objective for each undertaking will be determined in the light of its own circumstances, needs and capabilities. . . . For some, the objectives may be expressed in terms of progress towards an appropriate level of self-financing of their capital expenditure, concurrently with the provision of suitable contributions to reserve. For others, the objective may be in terms of a specified rate of return on capital employed."

The existing procedures for the discussion and authorization of capital expenditure and borrowing are to be continued. Paragraph 24 of the White Paper codifies them as follows :

- "(i) The Government will each year discuss with the undertaking and approve the general lines of its plans for development and capital expenditure for the next five years ahead and be ready to agree to long-term commitments as appropriate.
- (ii) In the light of (i) the Government will each year fix an upper limit on the amounts to be spent on investment by the undertaking during the two years ahead.
- (iii) The Government will approve proposed borrowings on the basis of an annual reasoned estimate submitted by the undertaking.
- (iv) The Government will require to be kept informed of the extent to which the undertaking is proposing to invest new capital in projects which are expected to yield a relatively low return."

#### PRICES AND COSTS

Finally the White Paper has this to say on the important matter of price policy :

"A clear definition of each Board's financial obligations inevitably raises the question of the extent to which the Boards should have freedom in their pricing policies. Although the Government possess no formal power to fix prices in the nationalized industries, nationalized undertakings have, in fixing their prices, given great weight to considerations of the national interest brought to their attention.

30. Increased prices would not be the only way in which nationalized undertakings could carry out the prescribed financial obligations. For a variety of reasons, such as fructification of investment and reduction of unprofitable activities, combined with continuing improvements in commercial efficiency, some of the industries will be capable of increased

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productivity, part of which should be available to improve their financial results. The aim of the industries generally will naturally be to secure the necessary additions to their net revenue as far as possible by reductions in costs. The Government recognize, however, that the industries must have freedom to make upward price adjustments especially where their prices are artificially low.

31. While recognizing the case for greater freedom and flexibility in the pricing policies of nationalized industries the Government must interest themselves in the prices of these goods and services which are basic to the life of the community and some of which contain a monopolistic element. In addition to the formal arrangements for the representation of consumers' views through Consultative Councils in the various industries and for the regulation of fares and charges in certain cases, the existing informal arrangements are that the Chairmen of the Boards ascertain in advance the views of the appropriate Ministers when they prepare to make substantial changes in the level of their prices. In the Government's view these arrangements should continue. If a Board decided to modify their own proposals by reason of views expressed by the Minister it would be open to them to require a written statement of those views, which could be published by the Minister or the Board, and to propose an appropriate adjustment of their financial objectives where, in their opinion, this modification would significantly impair their ability to meet them.

32. Financial performance is affected not only by the level of prices but by the level of costs. Cost may in turn be significantly affected by the amount of commercially unprofitable activities carried on by individual undertakings. These activities will, so far as practicable, have been taken into account in fixing the financial standard for each undertaking. To the extent that commercially unprofitable activities are subsequently imposed from outside, a Board would be entitled to ask for an adjustment of its financial objectives."

Commenting on this last aspect of the White Paper, the *Economist*, in its issue of 15th April, said :

" Whatever financial obligations and objectives the Government puts upon any nationalized industry will have to subsume such elements of 'non-commercial responsibility' as they believe to be inherent in the industry. Ministers are not prepared, that is, to do what the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries has sensibly suggested—make specific subventions out of the public purse in respect of particular non-commercial obligations that it has laid upon the industry. That course, if one could ever get any politician in office to adopt it, would certainly put the cost and the responsibility for such interventions much more into the open than, say, requiring the Coal Board to load its price increases disproportionately on to industry ; the minister would have to go to Parliament to get the money. The alternative course suggested this week—an easing of financial obligations that the boards would be entitled to ask for, and the minister would be at liberty to allow or disallow to what extent he wished—could be more conveniently lost in the target practice."

## *The Admission of the Press and Public to Meetings of Public Bodies*

The Public Bodies (Admission to Meetings) Act 1960, which came into operation on 1st June 1961 makes new provision for the admission of the press and other members of the public to meetings of local authorities and other public bodies. Before examining the provisions of the new Act in detail some discussion of the earlier legislation on this subject is necessary.

### LOCAL AUTHORITIES (ADMISSION OF THE PRESS TO MEETINGS) ACT, 1908

The Local Authorities (Admission of the Press to Meetings) Act, 1908, provided that representatives of the press were to be admitted to the meetings of a local authority, subject to the proviso that they could be temporarily excluded if, in the opinion of a majority of the members present, the special nature of the business made it advisable to do so in the public interest. In addition to the usual local authorities, e.g., county and borough councils, the Act also applied to boards of guardians, and joint boards and joint committees exercising by transfer or delegation any powers or duties of the appointing councils. The Act also applied to education committees exercising delegated powers. It did not, however, apply to the other committees of local authorities whether or not they exercised delegated functions [except to education committees].

The 1908 Act remained the main statutory authority governing the admission of the press to local authority meetings until the commencement of the 1960 act which is the subject of this note. Several unsuccessful attempts were made between 1930 and 1958 to revise the earlier legislation on the ground that it was out of date. In moving the Second Reading of the Bill for the 1960 Act, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, M.P., laid stress on the need to bring the 1908 Act up-to-date, mentioning among other examples the abolition of boards of guardians by the Local Government Act, 1929, and the transfer of their functions to county and county borough councils. It is questionable, however, whether this example was relevant to the case for the Bill as meetings of the local authorities to which the functions were transferred were open to the press under the 1908 Act.

The arguments for the new legislation, however, went beyond the mere suggestion that the 1908 Act should be revised because it was out of date in regard to the bodies to which it applied. It was maintained in the debate on the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Commons that the 1908 Act had proved inadequate in fulfilling its major purpose of enabling citizens to be kept fully informed on the act and proceedings of local authorities. The Local Government Act 1933 extended and made general the powers of local authorities under various nineteenth century statutes to appoint committees and delegate functions to them. It was argued that a result of this was that many authorities resorted to the practice of going into a full committee of the

#### QUARTERLY NOTES

council as a means of excluding the press from their discussions, which was completely contrary to the spirit of the 1908 Act. Within the last few years there have been a number of allegations of local authorities deliberately contravening the spirit of the 1908 Act in refusing to permit representatives of the press to attend committee meetings, and in the case of one particular authority a charge that it ignored not only the spirit but the letter of the Act. It is only fair to say at this point, however, that many authorities had gone far beyond the point to which the 1908 Act required them to go in granting facilities to the press to attend meetings. Some authorities had even permitted the press to attend meetings of committees whose recommendations had to be approved by the full council.

Probably the most serious criticisms of the 1908 Act were, first, the absence of any requirement that notice should be given of meetings to which the press were entitled to be admitted, other than statutory council meetings of which public notice was required to be given by the Local Government Act, 1933, and the earlier legislation which it replaced; and, secondly, the absence of a requirement to furnish to the representatives of the press attending a meeting copies of the agenda or other papers necessary to a proper understanding of the proceedings. In fact, most local authorities gave proper notices and supplied agenda, but there were some who withheld all papers or attached to their supply a condition that they should not be commented on in any newspaper prior to the meeting to which they related.

#### PUBLIC BODIES (ADMISSION TO MEETINGS) ACT, 1960

The new Act, which was introduced in the House of Commons as a Private Member's Bill, goes much farther than the previous legislation. To begin with it includes not only the press but other members of the public. (In view of this the term "the public" will be used from hereon to include the press.) The public is given, for the first time, a statutory right of admission to meetings of local authorities. Another important feature is its applicability to a number of bodies constituted under the National Health Service Act, 1946, such as regional hospital boards and executive councils, the latter, however, only in respect of their executive functions. The wider scope of the new Act is reflected in its more general title.

Like its predecessor, the 1960 Act acknowledges that it may be desirable in the public interest for authorities to exclude the public under certain circumstances, for example, when business of a confidential nature is being transacted. The new Act has, however, effected an important change by converting the judgement of the public interest from a subjective to an objective basis. Under the 1908 Act a resolution might be passed "when, *in the opinion of a majority of the members* of the local authority present . . . such exclusion is advisable in the public interest." Subsection (2), however, omits any reference to the opinions of the members, and so makes a resolution passed under it open to challenge if it can be shown that "the public interest" was not liable to be prejudiced by publicity. As well as conferring new rights on the public and extended rights on the press it has, of course, been

necessary to see that the ability of the public bodies to carry out their work efficiently is not unduly impaired. With this in view subsection (3) states that: "A body may under subsection (2) above treat the need to receive or consider recommendations or advice from sources other than members, committees or sub-committees of the body as a special reason why publicity would be prejudicial to the public interest, without regard to the subject or purport of the recommendations or advice. . . ."

The debate on the Second Reading in the House of Commons cast further light on what the sponsors had in mind by such phrases as "business of a confidential nature" and "business prejudicial to the public interest." It would, apparently, be justifiable to exclude the public when the authority concerned intended to discuss a confidential communication from a government department, in which the Minister was asking for an opinion on a subject which he would not wish to be discussed in open session until a later stage when he had, perhaps, considered the views of all the authorities consulted. In this case the exact reason for denying admission to the public would not need to be stated in the resolution for exclusion. Similarly such subjects as staff matters, legal proceedings, contracts, the acceptance of tenders, matters involving the personal circumstances of private individuals are more suitable for discussion in camera, but in these cases the resolution for exclusion would need to specify the exact reason why the public was being denied entry.

The Act forestalls attempts to secure extra-statutory privacy of discussion by the use of the device of going into a full committee of the council by applying its provisions to any committee of the body whose members consist of or include all the members of that body. The public and the press are, accordingly, entitled to attend meetings of, for example, the full council in committee save insofar as they may be excluded by a resolution under subsection (2) of section 1.

As has already been mentioned, one of the difficulties which a reporter has sometimes had to face has been his inability to obtain a helpful agenda of a meeting which he has attended. Agendas may be brief and do not always convey a clear idea of the subjects to be discussed. The new Act, therefore, in addition to stipulating the procedure whereby adequate notice can be given of authority meetings, also provides that a copy of the agenda for the meeting shall be supplied for the benefit of any newspaper " (but excluding, if thought fit, any item during which the meeting is likely not to be open to the public), together with such further statements or particulars, if any, as are necessary to indicate the nature of the items included or, if thought fit in the case of any item, with copies of any reports or other documents supplied to members of the body in connection with the item."

The new Act does not provide for any special sanctions against defaulting authorities, but any person feeling that, in being denied entry to a meeting, his rights had been infringed, can seek redress through the ordinary processes of law.

## *Local Government Reorganization*

THE Local Government Act, 1958, established a Local Government Commission for England and a similar body for Wales, each charged with the task of reviewing the structure of local government in their respective areas and recommending those changes which they considered desirable in the interests of "effective and convenient local government." In February 1960, the Local Government Commission for England published draft proposals for their first three review areas: the West Midlands Special Review Area, the West Midlands General Review Area, and the East Midlands General Review Area.\* 1961 has seen the appearance of draft proposals for Wales and the publication of the final reports on the West Midland Review Areas.

### **LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION FOR WALES**

The Local Government Commission for Wales have formed the view "that the majority of the Welsh counties are too small to operate with the greatest possible effectiveness the many various services which now fall within the local government field and that larger units should be set up." They have therefore proposed a series of amalgamations which would reduce the number of administrative counties in Wales from thirteen to five. Allowing for certain boundary changes, the five new administrative counties envisaged are: a North West Wales County, comprising the existing counties of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire and Merioneth; a North East Wales County, consisting of the existing counties of Denbighshire, Flintshire and Montgomeryshire; a South West Wales County formed from the existing counties of Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire; a South East Wales County comprising the existing counties of Breconshire, Monmouthshire and Radnorshire; and the present county of Glamorgan.

The Commission say that they have attempted in these proposals to achieve two main objectives: the advantages of larger populations and resources which should enable the new units to provide a better service than has been possible for the present smaller units; and at the same time the avoidance of the wholesale carving up of existing counties. The Commission recognize that efficiency does not automatically increase with size, but feel that in general a combination of units "should lead to concentration of effort, pooling of resources, co-ordinated planning, reduction of overheads, the adoption of new and improved machinery and procedures, and the replacement of wasteful competition and rivalry by full co-operation." The amalgamation of existing counties to form larger administrative units was a course of action proposed by the Local Government Boundary Commission which considered the same problem between 1946 and 1949. The new Commission examined their recommendations, together with further proposals submitted by Aberystwyth Borough Council and Crickhowell Rural District Council, both of whom made far-reaching suggestions for the creation of a Mid Wales

\*See "Local Government Commission for England," *Public Administration*, Summer, 1960, pp. 174-5.

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county. The Commission, however, found all these proposals open to objection in varying degree. The counties of Mid Wales face problems resulting from a declining population and low rateable resources and the Commission feel that it would be more desirable to link these counties with the more prosperous coastal areas than to amalgamate them on a regional basis which would not remove their existing difficulties.

The Commission were impressed with the degree of county loyalty which existed in all counties, and were conscious that this played an important role in maintaining a healthy standard of local government. Although these considerations had to be weighed against the more tangible benefits to be derived from larger administrative units and greater resources, the Commission made it clear that they were opposed to the division of existing counties which would result in their disappearance. Nor, for the same reasons, did they favour the transfer of any substantial area or block of population from one county to another, except in a few instances where the interests of the community seemed to require it.

As far as the Welsh County Boroughs are concerned the Commission have recommended some extensions in area to Cardiff and Newport, although they were not prepared to go the whole way in accepting proposals from these two boroughs for additions to their areas. Suggestions that Merthyr Tydfil should revert to non-county borough status have been made on a number of previous occasions, and the Commission, having re-examined the question in the light of present-day conditions, consider that this "would be in the best interests of effective local government and accordingly of the people whom local government is established to serve." The Commission rejected the claims of Wrexham and Rhondda Borough Councils that their authorities should be granted county borough status.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION FOR ENGLAND

The final reports on the two West Midlands Review Areas are the first reports to be submitted by the Local Government Commission for England to the Minister of Housing and Local Government.

The West Midlands Special Review Area consists of the City of Birmingham, and the area generally known as the Black Country. Local government in this area is divided between three counties, six county boroughs and twenty county districts. Nearly half the population live in one authority's area—Birmingham. The Commission consider the present situation is complex and difficult for the public to understand. The multiplicity of authorities has resulted in planning being on an unreal basis, the boundaries between authorities are out-dated, and some units are too small to be fully effective. The core of the Commission's proposals remain the same as those laid down in the earlier draft recommendations, namely the re-grouping of existing authorities to form five county boroughs, each one to include an existing county borough. The five county boroughs will be centred on Dudley, Smethwick, West Bromwich, Walsall and Wolverhampton. The Commission feel this would be a simple and natural structure, more convenient for the public and the councillor and better able to meet the present and future

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

needs of local government services. The only changes proposed for Birmingham are minor boundary alterations. Some minor changes which originally featured in the draft proposals have now been dropped. Other recommendations for the review area include a proposal that Solihull should become a county borough and that Sutton Coldfield should, subject to some boundary adjustments, remain a non-county borough in Warwickshire.

The Commission have also given careful attention to the problem of overspill in the area. They consider there is a need for a single body to plan the movement of overspill from both Birmingham and the Black Country and recommend the establishment of a joint board, representing Birmingham and the five proposed county boroughs in the Black Country, to review the planning trends which determine the size of the overspill problem, to maintain a register of people willing to move and an industrial bureau to arrange and encourage the movement of industry and to negotiate the reception of overspill with other authorities. In certain circumstances it would have powers to carry out development itself.

The Commission's final proposals for the West Midlands General Review Area follow closely their original draft proposals. They recommend that Burton on Trent, with a population of 50,000, and Worcester, with a population of 64,000, both of which at present enjoy county borough status, should become non-county boroughs within the administrative counties of Staffordshire and Worcestershire respectively. The Commission make it clear that they are not criticizing the councils of these two boroughs for the way in which they have used the resources available to them, but they point out that the Local Government Act, 1958, now requires a borough or urban district to have a population of 100,000 before it is considered big enough for county borough status. Moreover, with social services expanding, the Commission feel that effective local government could be better achieved if these authorities had the backing of the much larger resources available to the administrative counties.

The Commission have also recommended a number of small extensions to the areas of Stoke-on-Trent and Coventry county boroughs, mainly where suburban development now straddles existing boundaries. The main change envisaged in county boundaries is the transference of Tamworth Rural District from Warwickshire to Staffordshire. This would enable urban development in the rural district to be brought under the same administration as Tamworth borough, which is already in Staffordshire.

The two reports were sent to local authorities in and adjoining the areas affected, and to other public authorities concerned, and these authorities were given until the end of July to make representations to the Minister of Housing and Local Government on any of the Commission's proposals for these areas. Public local inquiries will then be held into any objections and these are expected to take place in the Special Review Area in the autumn, and in the General Review Area as soon thereafter as possible. Following the inquiries, the Minister will then decide what changes should be made in the structure of local government in these areas, and these will be embodied in orders which will be laid, together with the Commission's final reports, before Parliament.

The next final report of the Local Government Commission for England is expected to be on the East Midlands General Review Area (including Rutland and Cambridgeshire). The Commission is also reviewing the special review areas of Tyneside and West Yorkshire; and the South West, North Eastern and York and North Midlands General Review Areas.

### *The Department of Technical Co-operation*

**A** NEW Department of Technical Co-operation has been established by the Department of Technical Co-operation Act, 1961, and came into existence on 24th July. It will take over responsibility for the provision of technical assistance, other than capital projects, at present undertaken by the Foreign Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office. This was made clear by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Sir Edward Boyle, when he introduced the second reading of the Bill.

A recent White Paper (Cmnd. 1308), describing the wide range of aid given to overseas countries under the general heading of "technical assistance," defined this form of assistance as covering "training in the United Kingdom and overseas, the provision of experts, administrators and other professional men and women; the provision of advisory technical and consultant services and expert missions, and the supply of equipment for training, demonstration, pilot schemes or surveys." The Government have drawn a distinction between this type of assistance and helping overseas countries by the provision of capital aid. The new Department will be concerned with the former, but not with the latter. The Government appear satisfied with the present machinery for handling capital development schemes which leaves responsibility with the three senior overseas Departments. One suggestion put forward for the Government's unwillingness to disturb the existing procedures for providing capital aid is that decisions on this question inevitably turn on broad political considerations and on Britain's capacity to find the money. The view expressed by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury was that whereas loans and grants to overseas governments do not normally involve the United Kingdom Government in any close technical examination of the project or plan for which the money is spent, the mobilization and application of resources for technical assistance was a task of considerable complexity which required the kind of co-operation which a unified Department could best provide.

An important responsibility of the new Department will be the administration of the scheme for the continued employment of overseas officers, details of which were set forth in a White Paper presented to Parliament in October 1960.\* This scheme was designed to help certain overseas

\*See "Aid to the Overseas Civil Service," *Public Administration*, Summer 1961, pp. 193-7.

#### DEPARTMENT OF TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

governments to retain the services of expatriate officers until local public services could be firmly established, and is expected to cost about £12 million, apart from compensation payments. The responsibility for transfer, promotion and discipline of the overseas service in dependent territories will, however, remain with the Colonial Secretary. Equally important, the new Department will assume responsibility for the United Kingdom Government's contribution to a number of technical assistance schemes organized on a Commonwealth or international scale. These include technical assistance provided through the United Nations, in particular the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and Special Fund, technical assistance under the Colombo Plan and under the newly-formed Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan, and the provision of technical assistance to a number of Middle East countries under the Central Treaty Organization arrangements and also through the Middle East Development Division.

Some assistance provided by the United Kingdom Government is in the educational field and is at present the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, the British Council, the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission and other bodies rather than the overseas Departments. The Government do not intend to disturb these arrangements, where they are working well, although they may make some marginal adjustment of responsibility from time to time.

The Department will be in charge of a Minister, to be known as the Secretary of State for Technical Co-operation, whose rank will be equivalent to that of a Minister of State. He will be Mr Dennis Vosper, a former Minister of Health. The permanent head of the Department, the chief civil servant, will bear the title of Director-General and will have a rank equivalent to a Deputy Secretary. Sir Andrew Cohen has been appointed to this position. He is a former Governor of Uganda, and since 1957 has been Britain's Permanent Representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

The staff of the new Department is expected to number over 1,000. Initially this will not mean the creation of many new posts since it is proposed to transfer staff from the overseas Departments. The Financial Secretary did announce to the House of Commons, however, that "in so far as any new posts are created, either at home or overseas, the Government will certainly keep in mind the possibility of re-employing former members of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service with the right qualifications," and that the Government hoped that the new Department "will help to increase the opportunities for former members of the Service to be employed on technical assistance work."

The Department is to have a Vote of its own to cover both its establishment expenses and its expenditure on the provision of technical assistance, including the cost of the Overseas Service Aid Scheme. This Vote is likely to be in the order of £30 million. It will not, however, represent new expenditure, but will be in place of corresponding expenditure by the Foreign Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office.

## *Royal Commission on Government Organization in Canada*

In September 1960 the Canadian Government appointed a Royal Commission of three members "to inquire into and report upon the organization and methods of operation of the departments and agencies of the government of Canada and to recommend the changes therein which they consider would best promote efficiency, economy and improved service in the dispatch of public business."

In particular the Royal Commission was asked "to report upon steps that may be taken for the purpose of :

- (a) eliminating duplication and overlapping of services ;
- (b) eliminating unnecessary or uneconomic operations ;
- (c) achieving efficiency or economy through further decentralization of operations and administration ;
- (d) achieving improved management of departments and agencies, or portions thereof, with consideration to organization, methods of work, defined authorities and responsibilities, and provision for training ;
- (e) making more effective use of budgeting, accounting and other financial measures as means of achieving more efficient and economical management of departments and agencies ;
- (f) improving efficiency and economy by alterations in the relations between government departments and agencies, on the one hand, and the Treasury Board and other central control or service agencies of the government on the other ; and
- (g) achieving efficiency or economy through reallocation or regrouping of units of the public service."

The Order in Council specified "that the scope of the inquiry shall not extend to the institution of Parliament."

The three members are :

Mr. J. Grant Glassco

Mr. Watson Sellar

Mr. Eugene Therien

A First Report on Progress issued in April 1961 (Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 35 cents) indicates the wide ranging and well organized character of the inquiry. Eighteen specific projects have been delineated and detailed outlines of research agreed for each. The headings of a sample of the projects give a flavour of their character : Financial Control and Accounting, Manpower Management in the Government Service, Paperwork and Office Systems, Economic Analysis and Statistics, Scientific Research and Development, Public Information Services. Each project is in the charge of a director and sometimes he is assisted by an Advisory Committee.

## INSTITUTE NEWS

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### *New Premises*

By the time this *Journal* reaches members, the Institute will have moved to its new premises at 24 Park Crescent, London, W.1. It will occupy two floors in a restored building in this famous Crescent designed by John Nash in the early part of the nineteenth century. This part of the Crescent was damaged during the war and has now been redeveloped with the facade as originally designed, but behind it will be a modern office building instead of the residences of which the Crescent originally consisted. The ground floor will be devoted to the Institute's administrative offices, and the lower-ground floor to lecture rooms and study group rooms for training courses. The Institute hopes, before long, to be able to run two, and perhaps three, study courses concurrently throughout the year. The Institute has been much hampered in recent years by inadequate accommodation, and the larger premises should now enable its expansion to go forward with renewed speed. A particular advantage of the new premises is that they are within a few yards of Regent's Park Underground station on the Bakerloo line, and close to other public transport facilities.

### *Dame Evelyn Sharp and Sir Charles Cunningham*

THE Birthday Honours List included two distinguished Institute members. Dame Evelyn Sharp, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and one of the Institute's Vice-Presidents, was appointed a G.B.E. Sir Charles Cunningham, Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office and Vice-Chairman of the Institute's Executive Council, received the K.C.B.

### *London Autumn Lectures*

THESE lectures will deal with recent administrative changes, and among those taking part will be The Rt. Hon. Dennis Vosper, Secretary for Technical Co-operation, who will speak on the work of the new Department of Technical Co-operation; Sir Toby Low, who will talk about the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries; and Sir Bruce Fraser, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Health, whose subject will be the Mental Health Services. It is also hoped to include a lecture on the Reform of Local Government. These lectures will be held at the Federation of British Industries, 21 Tothill Street, London, S.W.1, on Monday evenings, commencing on 30th October.

### *New Books*

IN August, the Institute published the first of a series of volumes of case studies in public administration, under the title *Administrators in Action*. This first volume has been written by Professor F. M. G. Willson, principal author of *The Organization of British Central Government, 1914-56*, and

#### INSTITUTE NEWS

now Professor in the Department of Government in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. A start on this series was made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation. The first volume, which follows the style of the case studies produced in the United States under the Inter-University Case Program, contains five studies, two of which deal with central government, two with local government, and one with a problem in the nationalized industries. It is hoped that this new series of case studies will be of particular value in the training of public servants, and will also help those who are interested in public affairs generally to gain a better insight into the methods of British administration. The price of this book is 35s., and it can be purchased by Institute members direct from the Institute for 27s. 6d. post free.

#### *Diploma in Government Administration*

MR THOMAS J. ATHERTON, of the Burnley Office of the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance, has been awarded the Institute's prize of twenty guineas for the candidate who secures the highest mark in the Final Examination for the Diploma in Government Administration. Mr Raymond A. Cubitt, of the Ministry of Health, received the prize of ten guineas for the candidate with the highest number of marks in the Intermediate Examination. Both prize winners are Higher Executive Officers. Forty-four civil servants were awarded the Diploma in Government Administration this year, and seventy-one of the 108 candidates for the Intermediate Examination were successful. The department with the largest number of candidates in both the Intermediate and Final Examinations was the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance. The second largest entry in both examinations came from the Post Office. In this year's Final Examination, 74 per cent. of the candidates were in the Executive Class and 26 per cent. in the Clerical Class. In the Intermediate Examination the proportions were 52 per cent. and 34 per cent. respectively.

#### *Regional Groups*

JAMES McBOYLE, Clerk to the Midlothian County Council, is soon to retire and will then relinquish the Chairmanship of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Regional Group, an office he has held since 1957. During this period, Mr McBoyle has given much time and energy to the Institute's affairs, and they have profited greatly as a result, both in Scotland and the rest of the country. The Regional Group is holding a dinner in Mr McBoyle's honour in October.

The Nottingham Regional Group is holding another of its one-day conferences in October on the subject *Training for Posts of Responsibility in Public Service*. The Chairman will be Sir Francis Hill, Chairman of the General Purposes Committee of the Association of Municipal Corporations. The speakers will include M. Gee, of the East Midlands Division of the National Coal Board, Dudley Lofts, of the Local Government Examinations Board, and P. H. Constable, House Governor of St. George's Hospital, London.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### *The British Diplomatic Service 1689-1789*

By D. B. HORN. Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. xvi+324. 42s.

THIS is a work of ripe and scrupulous scholarship, the fruit of thirty years of study by the Professor of Modern History in the University of Edinburgh. It is not about foreign policy or even about the processes of diplomacy but primarily about the character and organization of British diplomatic representation abroad. The assessment of its professional merits is rather for the historian, but an ex-diplomatist may perhaps be permitted to judge that Professor Horn has asked himself the right questions, that he has been indefatigably and inquisitively wide-ranging in his search for the answers, and that he has worked his abundant material into a fascinating recital that should add a permanent chapter to the history of British diplomacy, appropriately not neglecting the Scottish contribution thereto. One source which he does not mention and may perhaps not have seen is *Diplomatic Ventures and Adventures*, a scholarly history of British representation at the Court of Poland by Count R. Przezdziecki, published by the Polish Research Centre in London in 1953.

One of the purposes of the book is to combat the illusion, current in the nineteenth century, that we had no regular diplomatic service before 1815. Against this, Dr Horn suggests (p. 13) that "there had been a marked development of professionalism in the British diplomatic service between 1660 and 1789. . . . A regular hierarchy of ranks was organized and stabilized. Salaries and allowances and methods of paying them were regulated . . . promotion from grade to grade became possible . . . retiring allowances were introduced. . . ." But in the course of his exposition Dr Horn is constrained to confess (p. 95) that "the eighteenth century diplomatic service was so riddled with 'outsiders' in its highest ranges that it is only with substantial reservations that it can be described as a diplomatic service at all" and (p. 179) that the methods of recruitment of heads

of mission were "erratic, casual and irrelevant." The "foreign ministers"—to use the then current description which today has a different application—produced by this system "were on the whole men of goodwill and more than average industry and intelligence: what they tended to lack was the outward show, which counted for so much at continental courts . . . and, perhaps still more, the specialized education, insinuating manners, and knowledge of technique possessed by their French rivals" (pp. 179-80). For Burke, the members of the service were all "a corps of intriguers." But our diplomacy could boast of such outstanding professional figures as Horatio Walpole, the brother of Sir Robert, and James Harris, 1st Earl of Malmesbury, grandfather of the nineteenth century Foreign Secretary. Of the profession of diplomacy, none, on evidence liberally quoted by Dr Horn, has written with greater perspicacity than Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, himself a diplomatist, in his letters to the son who, alas, disgraced him at a party by lapping or licking a plate of cherry tart "so that his chin, mouth, and lips were smeared with a rosy hue."

Within the limits set by himself, Dr Horn leaves no aspect of his subject untouched. We are told about the changing distribution of our diplomatic posts in Europe, the kind of incumbents provided for them, the bewildering variety of their ranks, their emoluments, established, extraordinary and extra-extraordinary, with tables showing costs after 1782, the method of their recruitment, by whom and why, their education and training, their duties and difficulties, the ceremonies they had to perform and the privileges they enjoyed, their methods of communication, their relations with consuls (these latter were usually paid by merchants, not by the Crown) and with spies, and their excursions into authorship.

To men with political ambitions, a post

#### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

abroad was second best to a post at home and was regarded as a form of exile. Posts were often accepted in the hope that they might lead to government office, to a peerage, a privy councillorship, a fat pension or a seat in the House of Commons. Salaries were a charge on the civil list, were frozen in amount for over a century, and were too often in arrears. Deficiencies might be made up by a variety of perquisites, regular and irregular. The system was not reformed until the new century, when parliamentary intervention limited the royal caprice.

Dr Horn's occasional departures from the strictly administrative limits of his theme whet the appetite for a parallel study of the mechanism in London for the handling of foreign relations in their political and economic aspects, and of the processes by which decisions were reached, both before and after the creation of the Foreign Office in 1782. William III treated his ministers as mere clerks. The first two Georges, with a sound German predilection for the professional, chose eight of their nine Secretaries of State for the northern department from among those who had represented their country abroad, notably Townshend, Stanhope, Sunderland, Carteret and Chesterfield. Heads of mission were expected to be executives rather than consultants: unlike so many of their nineteenth century successors,

they rarely pressed their advice on London or ran policies of their own. It is of topical interest to learn that the efficient eighteenth century machinery for the interception of foreign dispatches and for the breaking of foreign ciphers, organized in "the Secret Office" under an official known as "the Foreign Secretary," and in a "Deciphering Branch" directly under the Secretaries of State, was dismantled in 1844 by Peel's Government under parliamentary pressure, since England did not "stand in need of such expedients for her safety." But the loss of this information may well have made the difference between Palmerston's early successes and his later failures.

Some minor points. In the admirably constructed index, a test check shows that of the eight entries under "French language" two are in error—for 78 read 7-8 and for 132 read 131; Anthony Carey was not Viscount of Falkland; Lord North became Earl of Guilford, not of Guildford (as Burns knew: "When Guilford good our pilot stood"). And is not the word *sinons* in the quotation at the top of p. 270 a proper noun, a reference to Sinon, son of Sisyphus, the wily Greek who got the horse into Troy, rather than a conjectured corrupt reading for *espions*?

STRANG

#### *Science and Government*

By C. P. SNOW. Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. 88. 9s. 6d.

AT one level this book deals with the clash of two personalities during the 1939-1945 war. Tizard and Lindemann are, respectively, hero and villain. The two issues on which they differed were the priority to be given to radar development in the days before it became a proved success, and, later, the policy of strategic bombing. Snow tells the story with much inside knowledge, and brings the protagonists to life at least as vividly as any of the characters in the best of his novels.

But the book goes deeper than this. Snow uses the dramatic contest between these two scientists as a peg on which to hang a discussion—all too short—on how the wheels of government revolve: what really happens between the birth of a new idea and the large-scale and effective exploitation of that idea by government.

The author's chief concern is that, in the contemporary government of advanced industrial nations, "the cardinal choices have to be made by a handful of men:

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in secret: and, at least in legal form, by men who cannot have a first-hand knowledge of what those choices depend upon or what their results may be." The process whereby such choices are made he calls "closed politics," which is the kind of politics in which there is no appeal to a larger assembly and ultimately to public opinion. Many of the crucial decisions in war are, and must be, taken in this way. Closed politics is contrasted with "open politics" in which any member of the Government can, if pressed, move from personal to mass opinion. In closed politics, according to Snow, "personalities and personal relations carry a weight of responsibility which is out of proportion greater than any they carry in open politics. Despite appearances, we are much nearer than in ordinary government to personal power and personal choice."

The crucial decisions on both radar and strategic bombing were taken by "closed politics." "Probably not more than a hundred people had any information whatever about Tizard's first radar decision; not more than twenty people took any effective part in it, and at the point of choice not more than five or six."

In the case of strategic bombing, Lindemann, by then in the Cabinet, on his own responsibility put in a Cabinet paper which described quantitatively the likely effect on Germany of a British strategic bombing offensive over the succeeding eighteen months. "The paper laid down a strategic policy. The bombing must be directed essentially against German working-class houses. Middle-class houses have too much space round them, and so are bound to waste bombs; factories and 'military objectives' had long since been forgotten, except in official bulletins, since they were much too difficult to find and hit. The paper claimed that—given a total concentration of effort on the production and use of bombing aircraft—it would be possible, in all the larger towns of Germany (that is, those with more than 50,000 inhabitants), to destroy 50 per cent of all houses." Copies of this paper went to top government scientists. Two of them, Tizard and Blackett, studied the statistics and came to the conclusion that Lindemann's estimates were much too high; Tizard concluded that Lindemann's estimate of the number of houses that could possibly

be destroyed was five times too high, Blackett that it was six times too high. Everyone agreed that if Tizard and Blackett were right strategic bombing should give place to some other policy. But were they right? Snow contends, and with reason, that they were; and that, had it been practicable to submit the issue to the Fellows of the Royal Society or to the general population of professional scientists, Lindemann would not have lasted a week. As it was, Lindemann had the ear of the Prime Minister and was in the Cabinet; Tizard and Blackett had neither of these advantages. So Lindemann's view prevailed, and strategic bombing became the accepted policy.

The result? The Bombing Survey after the war revealed that the Lindemann estimates of the number of houses that could possibly be destroyed was *ten* times too high.

Snow realizes that "secret choices" are inherent, to some extent, in the whole process of government. But the occasions for them could, and should, be reduced. His first two specifics, neither in sight yet, are to abolish nation-states, and to see that "all politicians and administrators are scientifically educated, or at any rate not scientifically illiterate." He makes much of this second point, clearly against the background of his 1959 Rede Lecture. If scientists of any kind were diffused through government the number of people helping to influence secret choices would be bound to increase. That, though a real gain, is secondary to what he has most in mind: he believes scientists have something to give which our kind of society is desperately short of: foresight, or "an expectation of knowledge to come." He maintains that scientists—some scientists—are more likely to have this kind of foresight than are scientifically illiterate administrators. That is his deepest reason for wanting scientists in government.

This, clearly, is a controversial conclusion. And to some extent Snow recognizes it. At least he recognizes that the decisions of the Tizard committee were carried out by professional administrators, and if these had been replaced by scientists, the scientists would almost certainly have done worse. And he recognizes, too, that many scientists lack the broad and detached judgement that the administrator needs. Many scientists have a trace of the obsessional.

"To be any good, in his youth at least, a scientist has to think of one thing, deeply and obsessively, for a long time. An administrator has to think of a great many things, widely, in their interconnections, for a short time. There is a sharp difference in the intellectual and moral temperaments. I believe, and I shall lay some stress on this later, that persons of scientific education can make excellent administrators and provide an element without which we shall be groping: but I agree that scientists in their creative periods do not easily get interested in administrative problems and are not likely to be much good at them."

Yet, in spite of all this, Snow sticks to his main thesis: we must educate our political and administrative masters, educate them in Science.

Maybe this sharp antithesis between Science and all else that makes for wisdom in an administrator is becoming a bit out of date. It is not only Science that is missing from the education of some administrators. The bad old doctrine that a first class degree in any subject, no matter how remote from present realities, is a good starting point for an administrative career is still held by many who should know better. Let us widen the attack to embrace this outdated doctrine, and reduce the emphasis on the alleged redeeming powers of Science *per se*.

SIR KELVIN SPENCER

## *Party Politics. Volume II. The Growth of Parties*

By SIR IVOR JENNINGS. Cambridge University Press. Pp. vii + 403. 45s.

SIR IVOR JENNINGS' second volume of his major study on British political parties, while it shows all his usual mastery of the task of synthesizing in an agreeable way a great deal of information and the relevant arguments, is about a part of the topic perhaps less well-suited to his talents than that covered by its predecessor. The history of political parties is a difficult one to write, because what has been meant by parties has differed so much in different periods; consequently the discussion of political parties in pre-Reform Bill England hangs on only loosely to the main part of the book.

The middle and later nineteenth centuries are well treated both from the point of view of party organization and leadership, and from that of party allegiances. In particular, Sir Ivor pays a good deal of attention to regional dissimilarities, a point which he might usefully have dwelt on more in relation to more recent times. On the other hand, like other British students of electoral politics he cannot escape from the known inadequacies of British electoral statistics. We have no Siegfried.

The other principal difficulty arises, I think, from Sir Ivor's reluctance to look

at the subject comparatively, not so much to see how things have gone elsewhere, as to find out what suggestions for inquiry experience abroad suggests. For instance, why did British parties relinquish government patronage as a method of keeping parties together while the Americans clung on to it? At what point did we establish the particularly British idea of the relationship between a neutral professional civil service and party government; and has it anything to do with the kind of parties we have had?

Much of the narrative is given up to a detailed demonstration of how, given the bias of the British system towards two parties, the Labour Party established itself almost inevitably as the second party in the State. But was it inevitable that one of the British parties should have a "positive working-class policy"? Why did America go another way? Luckily Sir Ivor is not satisfied with social determinism, and we get some useful analyses of the successive elections, particularly 1922, 1923 and 1924, through which the change was brought about.

On more recent events, Sir Ivor is naturally concerned to ask why the pendulum failed to swing in 1955 and 1959.

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His conclusions do not differ much from those of Dr Mark Abrams, Mr Richard Rose or Professor Samuel Beer. The British class-structure is changing both objectively and subjectively and making the Labour Party image increasingly irrelevant. To move "left" will mean to do even worse. Since Sir Ivor thinks (wrongly) that "the Liberal party has virtually disappeared," this leads to something like a prospect of a one-party government. If such a forecast is correct, then of course the descriptive sections of the book will take on a more historical not to say antiquarian flavour. Meanwhile his account of the two major parties, their organization and their spirit, gives us the best summary that exists, and to some extent corrects the work of Mr Robert McKenzie upon which Sir Ivor relies for much information.

As one might expect, the book shows a scrupulous attention to detail, and is hard to fault. But (p. 300) Lansbury became First Commissioner of Works on the

formation of the Labour Government in 1929 and not only after the collapse of J. H. Thomas's committee on unemployment. It is very doubtful (p. 323) whether the "peace issue" played the part in the famous Fulham by-election that was afterwards believed. There were local reasons for the Labour triumph. The statement (on p. 369) that "the Conservative section of the electorate contains some sixty per cent more women than men, and the Labour section some eighty per cent more men than women" is patently absurd however one interprets it, and is not of course borne out by the figures referred to in volume 1.

Although not a work of research in the strict sense—no new or unfamiliar sources are used—the book will be very useful, and makes one look forward with renewed eagerness to the last volume of Sir Ivor's trilogy when we shall be told what ideas (if any) our great parties stand for.

MAX BELOFF

#### *Union-State Relations in India*

By K. SANTHANAM. Asia Publishing House. Pp. 71. 18s.

#### *Parliamentary Democracy of India*

By K. V. RAO. World Press, Calcutta. Pp. 365. 30s.

#### *The Constitution of India*

By S. C. DASH. Chaitanya Publishing House, Allahabad. Pp. 496. 30s.

It is an interesting comment on Indian intellectual life that of these three books the two written by men in academic posts are less remarkable and valuable than the one which comes from the pen of a journalist-politician. This will not surprise those who are familiar with India. It is in part a by-product of the long years of nationalist struggle. Mr. Santhanam's career, sketched on the dust cover, is revealing. Trained as a mathematician and qualified for the Bar, he was drawn during the twenties into Congress activities including the prison sentences they entailed. Later he became "by

sheer accident" a journalist and for some dozen years was editor of influential newspapers. After independence he has been a member of the Constituent Assembly, Minister in the central government, Lieutenant-Governor of a state and Chairman of several public bodies including the second Finance Commission.

He combines a careful and reflective approach with considerable knowledge and intimate experience of political and administrative processes. His penetrating articles contributed during recent years to the *Hindu* of Madras have been deservedly well known and we must be

grateful to the Indian Institute of Public Administration who invited Mr Santhanam to give the lectures on which the present book is based and under whose auspices the publication appears. Difficult material is presented with admirable clarity and one can only be thankful that revision for publication has not removed entirely the pleasant and modest tone of the author's spoken word.

The subject of Union-State relations has very great importance and no one has previously succeeded in getting close to the heart of the matter. The book contains five lectures. The first two are by way of scene-setting. In one, the author takes us concisely through the "Constitutional Framework" merely indicating the salient points of relevance to his theme. In a brief reference to pre-1947 federal developments he makes one curious remark when he says that it became British policy, manifested in the 1935 Act, that "the Provinces should be separated as far as possible from the Government of India and put in direct relation with the British Government, thereby approximating the Provinces to the Indian States." Some separation was necessary in order to develop responsible government in the Provinces but the rest of the sentence does not follow, nor did it in practice. He finds so many places (Articles 3; 249 and 250; 353 and 356) where the Constitution places the states in a position inferior and subordinate to the centre that he ingeniously creates a new term to describe the Indian Union: it is a "Paramount Federation" because "the paramountcy powers which the British Government had over the Indian States have been taken over by the Union Government and applied to all its units." The second lecture purports to deal with "Legislative, Administrative and Judicial Relations." In fact, the legislative aspect, involving some discussion of the three lists of subjects, almost squeezes out the others—a pity, for on administrative relations in particular there is so much to be known and few people able and willing to tell. It is disappointing to find this topic discussed in page and a half, and tantalizing too when within that space there is an undeveloped reference to a new timidity in civil servants' attitudes to states' ministers and an inadequate discussion of the role of central advisory bodies.

The third and fourth lectures represent Mr. Santhanam's real contribution. The description of "Financial Relations" is within its scope quite masterly. The various categories of Union taxes are explained together with the recommendations of the Finance Commissions on their sharing and distribution to states. The author emphasizes that perhaps the biggest developments—the use of central grants and loans to states—imply a major change in the federal balance. Although provided for in the Constitution, they now have an overwhelming importance. This leads him straight to the key subject of the "Effect of Planning on Union-State Relations." His examination of the process of preparing and implementing the Plans leads him to the conclusion that "the position of the National Development Council has come to approximate to that of a super-Cabinet of the entire Indian federation" and that "planning for [the] purpose of economic development [has] practically superseded the federal Constitution." He admits that this has come about with the "agreement and consent" of the states but he clearly thinks that it is in many ways unfortunate. To mention only two points: uniform policies are pushed when diversity is required by the conditions; states are borrowing so heavily that the interest burden is mounting threateningly.

The author's general conclusion is of course not original but it is entitled to special respect when coming from him. At the same time, it is difficult to believe that it is the whole truth about federalism in India when states and their leaders seem in so many ways to be increasingly powerful. Mr Santhanam does indeed put this side of the truth in a final lecture on "Political and Linguistic Influences." But he presents the two aspects as separate and implies a dichotomy between economics and politics, the former sphere being unitary, the latter federal. One may doubt this: do the powerful state premiers not manage, through the National Development Council, through the Congress Party Working Committee and by informal pressures of all kinds, to influence both the shape and progress of the Plans by indicating what they wish and what they will not stand? Mr Santhanam points out that the states, in exchange for a loss of administrative autonomy,

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seek compensation by interfering in central matters such as the location of steel plants. It is a reasonable guess that it goes further than this.

Santhanam, then, is a "must" for all serious students. Rao and Dash are no more than "mays." Of the two, Professor Rao is in the opinion of the present reviewer the more interesting. It is yet another commentary on the Constitution, but, while its claim to make "a new approach" seems unwarranted, it has certain merits, not the least of which is a lively style. The author has also dug with profit in the mine of the Constituent Assembly Debates. The approach is mainly one of speculative ingenuity, the "ifs an' buts" game, the assiduous search for ambiguous Articles. The spectre of the powerful President, which seems to haunt Indian constitutional

commentators, is duly paraded, but Professor Rao is a sensible man and he rightly comes to the conclusion that it all depends. His Preface promise to indicate how to make "a Constitution that can work without Nehru" culminates in a more modest assessment of the achievements of the present one. A 30-page appendix summarizing some leading constitutional cases struck a non-lawyer as useful.

Dr Dash calls his "a comparative study." It is apparently based on a dissertation awarded the degree of Ph.D. at the Free University, Berlin, in 1954. This explains its only important novelty—the inclusion of references to Weimar and West German constitutions as well as those of U.K. and U.S.A.

W. H. MORRIS-JONES

#### *Planning for Progress—the Administration of Economic Planning in the Philippines*

R. S. MILNE (ed.). *Studies in Public Administration No. 6*, Institute of Public Administration and Institute of Economic Development and Research, University of the Philippines, Manila, 1960.

WORKS on the economic problems of underdeveloped countries are now abundant—perhaps too abundant. Prescriptions for economic advance differ so widely that the politicians and administrators of the countries concerned may perhaps be excused for treating much of the advice they are currently receiving with some reserve. Most students of underdevelopment, however, are agreed that whatever kind of economic progress may be regarded as desirable or possible, it will not take place automatically, under the benign gaze of a government which confines its efforts to the maintenance of law and order and the provision of certain basic services. Inevitably, the government has to take some kind of continuous initiative to lift the economy from the stagnation that appears to be its natural condition. This means planning, and planning has certain administrative implications and consequences.

Unfortunately, the voluminous literature relating to development contains very few studies of planning administration. Even

the United Nations, which might be expected to display a lively interest in the subject, has tended to devote its analytical and prescriptive efforts to the economic techniques of planning rather than to the administrative arrangements required to implement them. Not even Indian planning administration has been comprehensively studied, and those wishing to understand it are still compelled to flounder about in a mass of official reports. To my knowledge, the only comparative study of planning administration that has appeared is the IIAS Report edited by Professor Donald C. Stone, entitled "National Organisation for the Conduct of Economic Development Programs"—a competent monograph but very short and now largely out of date.

This volume about economic planning administration in the Philippines is therefore very welcome, and the two bodies sponsoring it are to be congratulated on their initiative. Admittedly, it has all the

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defects of a symposium based mainly on transcripts of a series of lectures: the contributions are very unequal in quality and there is a good deal of overlapping and repetition. Nevertheless, there does emerge from it a clear picture of the specifically administrative problems that have bedevilled planning in the Philippines, and these are excellently evaluated by Professor R. S. Milne in a concluding article which deserves to occupy an honoured place in planning literature.

The book's main value is that of a cautionary tale. Since the war the Philippines have had a succession of plans but have made little serious effort to operate any of them. This is partly due to the fact that they were not always well-conceived or well-informed, partly to the absence of "a disciplined political party under leadership strongly committed to economic development," partly—one gathers—to certain attractive but awkward characteristics of national temperament; but also, in very large measure, to the failure of successive governments to give the planners sufficiently high status, to listen to and act upon their advice, and to define the administrative relationships between the newly-created National Economic Council and other, more prestigious bodies, such as the Central Bank and the Budget Commission, which have tended to regard it as a dangerous rival or as an irrelevant nuisance.

The Planning Law itself is excellent, although one might criticize the membership it prescribes for the National Economic Council. It defines the Council's powers in a sufficiently comprehensive way and—more importantly—states that it "shall be an extension of the personality of the President." The trouble is that

the President himself has never cared very much for the appearance of this facet of his personality and has preferred to obtain advice from other bodies, such as the Central Bank, the Budget Commission and the Fiscal Policy Council, which cannot take as comprehensive a view of developmental requirements as the NEC should have been able to do, while the Congress has obstinately refused to bring into existence the NEC's proposed *alter ego* in the field of operations, the National Development Authority.

These inconsistencies, hesitations and unresolved rivalries obviously cannot be recommended for imitation by other underdeveloped countries. They simply offer a warning. But in addition to the warning there is a question. Would the economic development of the country have been appreciably accelerated if planning had been better conceived and more effectively operated? According to the authors of the first article in this symposium, per capita incomes have risen some thirty per cent. since the end of the war. For a country with an annual population increase of some 3 per cent., this is not discreditable. On the other hand, the rate of growth appears to be *decreasing* rather rapidly, while income increments have been distributed in a grossly unequal manner and the most vital sector of the Philippines' economy, agriculture, has made virtually no progress. These facts suggest that the virtual relinquishment of "planning and initiation" to the "private entrepreneurial group" has, to say the least, not been of unalloyed benefit.

A. H. HANSON

#### *Modern Swedish Government*

By NILS ANDRÉN. Almqvist and Wiksell. Pp. 252. Sw. Kr. 15 (paperbacked), Sw. Kr. 19.50 (bound).

THIS book provides a useful general introduction to the Swedish political system and contains a fair amount of material that will be new to British readers. It is intended mainly for use as

a university text and can be recommended for this purpose. It will also be of value to the general reader wanting an up-to-date outline survey of Swedish politics and government.

The exposition is terse and clear. A short initial section sketching the background to Swedish politics is followed by chapters on the party system, the electoral system, and the organization, rules and practice of the Riksdag. The second half of the book is chiefly concerned with the executive and the administration. A section on the executive functions and the control powers of the Riksdag has nothing of particular value to add to the literature on the two Ombudsmen, but there are interesting accounts of the Swedish budgetary system and the ways in which legislation is generated (each of these latter topics is allotted a chapter apiece). There is also, towards the end of the book, a concise survey of the Swedish local government system.

Historical accident plays a part in the evolution of political systems, and there is at least one odd parallelism here between Sweden and Britain. In both countries the loss of power from monarchy to ministry has owed something to the fact that there was a stage in the history of each when the monarch was prevented by linguistic difficulties from playing an active part in Council—the first Bernadotte in Sweden having been in this respect in much the same position as George I. Probably too (though this is more debatable) it was due to accident that the board system did not develop further within the British administration in the nineteenth century, and that we did not arrive at something approximating to the present-day highly decentralized Swedish administrative system.

The rather complicated relationship between the few small central Departments in Sweden and the numerous boards which in fact, if not officially, fall within their spheres of influence has already had much light thrown on it in Verney's book on Swedish public enterprise. Andrén helps to clarify the matter further in his seventh chapter though, as is inevitable in a general text book, the general principles are clearer than the practical operation of the system. The boards have receded in importance as policy-making bodies with the advent of cabinet government based on party majorities in Parliament. They no longer play a major part in the shaping of legislation as they used to do in the days when Swedish ministries were ministries of civil servants, and when

legislation was prepared by the accumulation of minutes, so to speak, from a large number of expert authorities with the Government of the day at the apex. Nowadays the tendency is clearly for the familiar distinction between matters of policy and matters of day-to-day administration to apply: the central Departments see to matters of policy, the boards to matters of administration. Yet traditions die hard, and though the boards no longer do much investigatory work at the nascent stage of legislation, they are still required to present their opinions in writing on draft bills. As Andrén remarks at p. 120, ". . . a board concerned with proposed measures must submit its opinion before such matters are decided upon by the King and Council. This procedure not infrequently retards and bureaucratizes the administrative process, but it is comprehensive and thorough." It would be interesting to know whether the apparently hard and fast distinction between policy and day-to-day administration blurs at the edges in this case also, though the investigation is appropriate to a specialized study rather than to a general text book.

Students of comparative government will find a considerable amount of value in Andrén's survey, not least in the eleventh chapter dealing with the long and still continuing official inquiry into constitutional reform in Sweden. The Swedish cabinet, for example, is comparatively small, but the work-load is heavy. It is interesting to see that consideration is being given to the institution of Ministers of State on the British pattern in an attempt to lighten the burden (actually something of the kind seems to have been happening already in Sweden, for, as Andrén points out in another part of his book, the "consultative councillors" who sit in the Cabinet have increasingly been given delegated responsibility over specified blocks of small departmental business). It is interesting also to see how those parts of the system which have survived from the separation of powers era in Sweden at the beginning of the nineteenth century have been modified, and are likely to be modified still further, to meet the requirements of a modern parliamentary democracy. Thus, to take one striking instance, the antiquated procedure whereby Council minutes are laid annually before

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a Riksdag committee in order that Ministers may be called individually to account for their "advice" seems likely to be converted into a means of reviewing the administrative practices of the government.

Andrén has provided the British reader

with a handy and up-to-date guide to the intricacies of the Swedish political system. His book is a worth-while addition to the literature on the subject.

N. C. M. ELDER

### *The District Auditor*

By LEONARD MERVYN HELMORE. Macdonald & Evans, 1961. Pp. 220. 25s.

THIS is the first satisfactory book to be written on District Audit generally and, in view of the research and study which Mr Helmore has so successfully carried out, it seems unfair that it cannot be called the best book on the subject. It is in fact so good that it may well remain the only adequate study of District Audit.

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which describes the development of external audit in local government, the birth of District Audit and its history to the present time. This section reveals the extent of the author's researches by the number of references to and quotations from original documents not readily available to the casual reader which support his theme. The second part describes the appointment, functions and scope of the District Auditor and the third part sets him in his place as auditor, watchdog, visitor and tribunal.

Parts II and III may be thought to be excessively concerned with the legal position of the District Auditor. There is no doubt that his position in relation to the law is of great interest and the discussion thereof is one of the most valuable aspects of Mr. Helmore's work. Nevertheless it becomes extremely repetitive, especially in Part III, and to one professionally concerned with local government accountancy, it detracts from the balance of the book to find so little discussion of the financial audit responsibilities of the District Auditor. One would expect to find some detailed study of these in Chapter XIV "His place as Auditor" but even here the author fails to get to grips with the practical side of the District Auditor's work. Surely, one of the reasons why the District Auditor is unwelcome in some of

the larger authorities is the enthusiasm with which the Treasurer protects his practical methods of keeping the accounts against the detailed criticisms of one who is not an accountant. To the average local authority the main impact of the District Auditor is not the content of his formal report but the effect of the lesser criticisms and comments which, year by year, he leaves with the Treasurer for consideration and possible action. The author's comment on p. 179 that members of councils obtain from the auditor's report a detached view of their financial administration is today quite untrue of local authorities of any size. One has a feeling that Mr Helmore is thinking here of the local government climate between the wars and that present-day developments in financial administration have passed him by.

There are a few points of detail which need some comment. The balance of the opening chapters is spoiled on several occasions (see pages 10, 13, 14 and 15) by the description of statutory audit provisions, apparently of general application, which seem advanced for their time but which, in subsequent paragraphs, turn out to be sections of adoptive acts, such as Gilbert's Act, which were not in fact widely adopted. On page 56, the D.A.'s position in local government is said to be much the same as that of Comptroller and Auditor General in relation to national expenditure. This thesis is more or less demolished later in Chapter XV.

There is an interesting and perhaps significant coincidence of misprints on p. 113 and p. 120 where, in quotations from an article by G. M. Young in *The Sunday Times* and an extract from Professor

Smellie's *History of Local Government* respectively, the word "bought" is printed as "brought." Incidentally the latter quotation is on page 50 of the latest (third) edition—the reference in the text is to page 63 of an unspecified edition.

There is a misleading comment on p. 107 on the increasing space given to District Audit in the Minister's Annual Reports. These always single out some aspect of the Department's work for special mention and in 1958 it happened to be the turn of the D.A. In 1959 it was the Alkali Inspectors!

The index is comprehensive. In fact, it is perhaps too detailed, as readers will find who turn up references to Oliver Twist, the Stockton and Darlington Railway, B.B.C., I.T.A. and other interesting subjects which are mentioned in

the text in passing but have no value either in the argument or as description.

Mr Helmore's book is a tribute to his devotion to his old service which is unashamedly its hero. Within the main theme there are also interesting subsidiary themes, such as a story of the Cockerton surcharge, the present role of the Chief Inspector of Audit and statistics of disallowances in the early years of the service. There is no doubt that it will become the standard work on the subject. Its worst omission has been left to the end. One would think that external, principally district, audit was all the audit that there was in local government. There is no mention of the essential supporting role played today in most authorities of any size by their internal audit!

J. V. MILLER

## *The Art of Administration*

By A. L. BANKS and J. A. HISLOP. University Tutorial Press Ltd. Pp. 224. 12s. 6d.

THIS book deals with much more and much less than the art of administration. The first half outlines "The Machinery of Administration," including, besides the ordinary branches of public administration—central, local and corporational—university administration: the second half, devoted specifically to "The Art of Administration," covers such topics as "Conduct of Meetings" and "Management of an Office" which are normally discussed under secretarial practice. This is indeed a mixed grill, if one may say so!

The book "is intended especially for professional men and women coming into contact with the administrative machine for the first time." The danger of the sort of generalization attempted here, valuable as it can be to the busy executive, is that it may easily become a string of half-truths. Thus, on pages 45 and 46 we come upon the three following statements about the Civil Service, each of which, while generally explicable, is literally untrue: (i) that Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan produced their famous report in 1854,

(ii) that the Civil Service Commission is administratively a subordinate *department* of the Treasury, and (iii) that *open* competition dates from 1855. The italics are the reviewers. Similarly, on pages 51 and 52 there are half-truths about local government, viz. (i) that the eighteenth century Parliament created independent bodies for special services, such as commissioners of sewers, (ii) that under the Education Act of 1944 the county and county borough councils became local education authorities, and (iii) that a most important provision of the Local Government Act, 1958, is the establishment of machinery for the review and alteration of local government areas and authorities in England and Wales. The unwaried novice could hardly be blamed for concluding that these were entirely new developments at the time.

When space is so short it seems a pity that our authors have been unable to resist quoting, on page 177, Lord Acton's exaggerated and far from original dictum on the evils of power. Is it not time that writers in all fields stopped parroting this

quotation without apparently examining its validity, or is this an example of the inevitability of literary mimicry?

However, it would not be fair to leave the book on a critical note. It contains much interesting information and in a busy world there is an urgent need for efficient summaries of fields of knowledge which, more often than not, seem to

encourage the production of long-winded treatises. The low price of the book too is deserving of comment and the publishers are to be congratulated for producing a book of this standard for 12s. 6d. under existing conditions. A bibliography, appendices and comprehensive index are also included.

E. N. GLADDEN

### *Economic Planning in the British Building Industry 1945-1949*

By NATHAN ROSENBERG. Pennsylvania University Press. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. 159. 40s.

PROFESSOR Rosenberg has examined the operation of building controls during the period between 1945 and 1949. This period covers that during which the Labour Party were in office and the main period of their attempt at centralized planning of the building industry. The purpose of his inquiry was to examine how far the controls were successful and to question the assumption made about the part which investment should play in economic planning. For example the author questions the suggestion that a reduction in investment in building in the conditions prevailing in 1947 would necessarily have led to an improvement in the balance of payments.

The author recognizes that the Government undertook a formidable task in attempting in 1945 to control the building industry but the impression remains that he probably underestimates some of the difficulties. In deciding to continue the wartime controls the Government must have had in mind the need to avoid the boom conditions which followed after the First World War, with the very steep increase in building costs subsequently followed by a severe slump in demand. The situation in 1945 was, however, much more difficult than that in 1918. The building labour force had been reduced to about half its pre-war size, over a million houses had suffered from bomb damage varying in degree from total destruction to minor damage, and the country had

been starved not only of nearly all new buildings but also of anything except the most essential repairs for about five years. Demand was therefore almost unlimited.

Professor Rosenberg argues that the system of controls was uncoordinated, resources both of men and materials were overestimated, and that those that were available were not used to meet the most essential needs. Given the need to exercise controls, could it have been done any better? As a result of the special release arrangements and training facilities the labour force employed on building work grew rapidly from about half a million men towards the pre-war level of about one million men. The author states that employment in the building materials industries grew too slowly and that supplies of materials were inadequate to meet demands. This problem was no doubt connected with the problem of the large share of resources employed on repair work, and part of the difficulty must have been in estimating what the demand for materials was likely to be. Although, for example, it may have been possible to estimate approximately the number of bricks required to build the number of houses which were to be started, no or little information was available about how many bricks would be required for factories, other essential new buildings, and more especially for repair and reconstruction. In fact, brick production, which it is argued was far too

low, was relatively high even in 1946, and was probably adequate to meet the requirements for the new houses started but not to meet all the other needs. Statements about demand to which Professor Rosenberg refers may well have been overestimates, and shortages may have been no more than marginal, as they have sometimes been since.

It is certainly true that a large share of the manpower was used on uncontrolled repair work, but between 1946 and 1948 licences were required for all jobs over £10 in value and in both 1946 and 1947 local authorities, acting as agents for the Ministry of Works, issued for housing repair work alone well over a million licences. It is hard to see how the limits could have been taken any lower since the volume of paper work would have mounted very steeply. Moreover, once powers to direct men to individual jobs had gone there were bound to be limitations to the amount of control that could be exercised.

It is suggested that insufficient men were employed on house building but by the end of 1946 the number was nearly as large as the number employed in 1960 whereas last year there were many more traditional houses started and nearly 100,000 more under construction. Some at least of the failure to achieve the desired output was due to the lower output per man at the end of the war and not all of this could be attributed to delays caused by shortages of materials. Apart too from the inherent difficulty in controlling the programme precisely and building up a suitable organization rapidly under the conditions existing when the war ended, there is no doubt that the cold spell which began early in 1947 and lasted for about three months had exceptionally disruptive effects on both building and on the production of materials and this contributed substantially to the crisis of 1947.

Professor Rosenberg points out that the Government appeared to have failed to divert men on to other work in 1948 when they cut back the building programme. Instead, sites where building was already in progress were more efficiently manned and the completion of contracts was speeded up. No doubt this effect should have been foreseen, but it is certainly not true that labour can neither be attracted to building from other industries nor diverted away by means of changes in the level of the building programme, since this has happened since 1949: admittedly other conditions must be right if the men released are to be employed on the production of goods for export.

Many of the points to which Professor Rosenberg draws attention are lessons which have now been learnt, some relatively recently. For example, the Government has recognized the difficulty of making rapid changes in the level of investment and has stated in the White Paper on Public Investment (Cmnd. 1203), issued last November, that "Once work has begun on a project it is usually uneconomic either to accelerate it or retard it at short notice" and consequently that in future "the Government (will) seek as far as possible to avoid interference with investment plans which have been approved."

The author has made a very careful study of the material available and brought together a useful survey of the experience gained in the operation of building controls between 1945 and 1949 which should be of interest to all "planners." It is perhaps a pity that he was not able to complete the survey and bring it up to the end of building controls in 1954, by which time although the difficulties were less the system was certainly more efficient.

F. E. LEA

### *Outlines of Central Government*

By J. J. CLARKE. Pitman, 1961. Pp. 274. 25s.

THAT the publishers should find it profitable to publish a thirteenth edition of this book is indeed a sorry reflection on teachers and students of central government. One

can only assume that the standard of the examinations of some of the Professional bodies which include government in their requirements is either very low indeed or

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is mainly a memory test of miscellaneous information. What, for example, is the value of the sentence "This Act comprises nine Divisions, sixty-five Sections, and four Schedules"; or, speaking of the Ministry of Power, "There is a Permanent Secretary, Deputy Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, together with Principals and Assistant Principals"? If the student takes the latter description seriously what is he to make of the Board of Trade which has "the usual officers" or of the Ministry of Labour in which Under-Secretaries but not Assistant Principals are mentioned. The information is of the most potted kind and it is very difficult to see the value of some of it. Ten lines are devoted to the

Civil Service Pay Research Unit of which two are taken up with the address of the Unit and a sentence which reads "The staff includes controlling officers, survey officers, and office staff". This is part of a 'Chapter' of three pages headed The Civil Service. Part I composed of five chapters, 17 pages all told, under the general heading of Social and Political Theory is vague, useless or misleading when it is not positively wrong. Not all the Sections are as bad as this but most are pretty bad and rather aimless. Definitely not a book to buy.

D. N. CHESTER

## BOOK NOTES

### *Electronic Computers and their Use by Local Authorities*

Charles Knight & Co. Ltd. 1961. Pp. 16. ELECTRONIC office machinery is being used by a number of public authorities, and other authorities considering the installation of such equipment can benefit from the experience of these pioneers. To assist busy treasurers and finance committees the *Local Government Chronicle* published a special series of articles which reviewed the types of equipment already in use in local authorities and indicated the lines along which future development was likely to take place. This booklet is an edited reprint of that series of articles.

### *Principles of Local Government Law*

By SIR IVOR JENNINGS. University of London Press. 4th Edition, 1960. Pp. 316. 18s.

THOROUGHLY revised by Professor J. A. G. Griffith, this new edition of Jennings' work on the legal and constitutional principles

underlying the English system of local government, contains a discussion of the provisions and implications of the Local Government Act 1958 together with many other changes in law and administration which have occurred since the publication of the third edition in 1947.

### *The Mental Health Act, 1959*

By S. R. SPELLER. The Institute of Hospital Administrators. Pp. 138. 13s. 6d.

THIS account of the provisions of the Mental Health Act 1959 and of the orders and regulations made thereunder is based on a series of articles Mr Speller contributed to *The Hospital* in 1959-60. It is written primarily from the point of view of the hospital service but, as much greater co-operation between hospitals and local health authorities is contemplated, a full account of the non-hospital aspects of the provisions of the Act is also included. The book is designed to afford some

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guidance in particular to members and officers of hospital and local health authorities. Since it has not been possible to include the full text of every section of the Act, nor of every regulation, the author recommends its use in conjunction with Queen's Printer's copies of the Act, Rules and Regulations.

as can be made simply by crossing words out, Part III amendments to the printed statutes which involve additions or changes other than mere deletions, and Part IV new Acts. Parts I and III are printed on one side of the paper so that if desired they can be cut up and stuck on to the pages concerned. Part IV could, similarly, be inserted as a whole.

#### *Essays in Constitutional Law*

By R. F. V. HEUSTON. Stevens & Sons, 1961. Pp. 187. 42s.

THE purpose of this book is "to remind the reader of some of the fundamental principles of our constitution, and to indicate how they have been adapted to the needs of the modern world." The scope is wide with chapters on Sovereignty, The Rule of Law, The Royal Prerogative, Parliamentary Privilege, Personal Liberty, Civil Disorder and Judicial Control of Power.

#### *The Structure of Local Government in England and Wales*

By W. ERIC JACKSON. Longmans, Green, 4th Edition, 1960. Pp. 253. 26s.

THIS new edition departs from the practice employed for the second and third editions. Then, recent changes in local government law falling within the scope of the book were mentioned in the form of an addenda. They have now been dealt with in the main text, each chapter having been completely revised with a view to bringing the contents fully up to date.

#### *Parish Administration : Supplement*

By CHARLES ARNOLD-BAKER. Methuen, 1961. Pp. 99. 7s. 6d.

WITH the publication of this supplement, Mr Arnold-Baker's treatise is now brought up to date as at 1st February 1960. The supplement is in four parts: Part I contains amendments to the text, Part II such amendments to the printed statutes

#### *The Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors*

By B. KEITH-LUCAS. Liberal Publication Dept., 1961. Pp. 14. 1s. 6d.

THIS is the third Paper in a series sponsored by the Unservile State Group. It ought to be read by all practitioners of local government, elected representatives and officials. Mr Keith-Lucas is out to stimulate discussion and, therefore, takes a delight in tilting pretty vigorously at the present usefulness of Mayors and Aldermen, the quality of Councillors, the lack of civic leadership and so on. He is so obviously a believer in local government and a supporter of it against the encroachment of Whitehall that his criticisms may be regarded as "friendly". But this will not prevent the blood pressures rising in many Town Halls and even those who welcome such criticism may be somewhat antagonized by the tone on occasion.

#### *Housing in Britain*

H.M.S.O. Pp. 42. 3s. 6d.

ANOTHER reference pamphlet in the excellent series of Central Office of Information surveys, it describes housing policy and housing achievements in the United Kingdom during the period since the Second World War. Following a brief account of the type of housing provision being made today and the standards to which buildings must conform, there are descriptions of some of the chief problems, such as over-spill from large cities and the provision of accommodation specially suited for elderly people or those in remote rural areas. The chapter on housing finance provides information on subsidies and improvements grants, and that on

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rented dwellings contains an outline of the Rent Acts and a section on local authorities' rents. The pamphlet is illustrated and includes a bibliography.

### *Enforcement of Planning Control*

By HAROLD J. BROWN. Sweet & Maxwell. 1961. Pp. xix+20. 17s. 6d.

### *Lands Tribunal : Practice and Procedure and Guide to Costs*

By R. F. C. ROACH. Sweet & Maxwell. 1961. Pp. xvii+204. 25s.

NUMBERS 1 and 2 in a new series of practice guides in law designed to provide the practitioner with detailed information on subjects of current interest which are highly specialized. *The Enforcement of Planning Control* provides details which range from the preparation of a valid and effective enforcement notice and the powers of the Minister or of the Magistrates' Court on appeal to the powers of the local planning authority to enforce the requirements of an enforcement notice and the courses open to a landowner in resisting such enforcement. *Lands Tribunal* explains very fully the working of Tribunal rules and describes the general practice in regard to appeals, references and applications, as well as a complete guide to costs on both the High Court and County Court scales.

### *Principles of Local Government Law : First Supplement*

By C. A. CROSS. Sweet & Maxwell, 1961. 7s. 6d.

THIS supplement records changes in local government law since the publication of the main text in 1959 (reviewed Summer 1959 issue).

### *Retirement : A Study of Current Attitudes and Practices*

The Acton Society Trust, 1960. Pp. 69. 5s.

OFFICIAL sources, academic research and a certain amount of first hand inquiry have provided the evidence for this mainly

factual account of retirement policies and practices. The first part of the pamphlet provides the background data: the magnitude of the problem revealed by population statistics, aspects of state and occupational pensions relevant to retirement and the social picture of current attitudes to retirement insofar as they can be ascertained. The second part discusses the retirement policies and practices of large firms in this country. The conclusions of the study are tentative "and are offered more in the hope of stimulating thought and of indicating possibilities than of providing a policy blueprint."

### *Studies in Business Organization*

Edited by RONALD S. EDWARDS and HARRY TOWNSEND. Macmillan, 1961. Pp. 160. 25s.

PREPARED as a supplement to an earlier work *Business Enterprise*, the present volume is a collection of case studies in which the authors, all distinguished businessmen or administrators, write about the undertakings with which they are actively engaged. Although the book is primarily concerned with organization in private industry, two essays, one by Sir David Webster on the Royal Opera House and the other by Sir John Simpson on H.M. Stationery Office, have been included to represent two differing examples of government business activity.

### *Powers of the President during Crises*

By J. MALCOLM SMITH and CORNELIUS P. COTTER. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. 1961. Pp. 184. \$5.

THE use of emergency "in this day and time has been so frequent that the very term 'emergency' is being shorn of meaning" states Dr Rankin, Chairman of the Political Science Department, Duke University, in the Foreword to this book. The authors present a picture of the broad extent to which this power has been employed by the United States Government in the period 1933 to 1955.

#### BOOK NOTES

##### *Conflict of Interest and Federal Service*

The Association of the Bar of the City of New York Special Committee on the Federal Conflict of Interest Laws. Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. Pp. 336. 44s.

IN recent years there have been several spectacular cases involving conflict of interest laws in the United States Federal Service. This study examines the whole range of modern conflict of interest problems in the executive branch of the federal government, draws attention to the defects of existing statutes, and attempts the difficult task of prescribing an equitable and practical remedy in detailed legislative form.

##### *Old Age: A Register of Social Research*

National Corporation for the Care of Old People. Pp. 98. 10s.

THE Corporation has compiled this publication from its recently instituted register of research in the social and socio-medical fields of old people's welfare. Only work in progress since 1955 has been included. It is proposed to add new information at annual intervals.

The following books have also been received for review:

*The Services of a Solicitor*, by H. J. B. COCKSHUTT. Hodder & Stoughton, 1961. Pp. 127. 2s. 6d.

*Public Administration of Water Resources in Texas*, by JOHN T. THOMPSON. Institute of Public Affairs, Texas. Pp. 172. \$2.50.

*El Parlamento Britanico*. MANUEL FRAGA IRIBARNE. Institute de Estudios Politicos, Madrid, 1960. Pp. 440. 200 pesetas.

*The Union Pacific Railroad: A Case in Premature Enterprise*, by ROBERT W. FOGEL. Johns Hopkins Press, 1961. Pp. 129. 28s.

*New Frontiers of the Kennedy Administration*. The texts of the Task Force Reports prepared for the President. Public Affairs Press, 1961. Pp. 170. \$3.75.

*The New Frontiersmen: Profiles of the Men Around Kennedy*. Public Affairs Press, 1961. Pp. 254. \$4.50.

*The Facts of American Life*, edited by M. B. SCHNAPPER. Public Affairs Press, 1960. Pp. 420. \$6.

## RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

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The following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. The documents are available in the Library of the Institute.

#### CIVIL ESTIMATES

*Civil estimates and estimates for revenue departments*, session 1961-2. Parts I-X complete.

#### COLONIAL OFFICE

*Report of the Malta Constitutional Commission*, 1960. Cmnd. 1261. pp. vi, 75. 1961. 5s.

#### COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

*Report of the Southern Rhodesia constitutional conference*, February 1961. Cmnd. 1291. pp. 9. 1961. 9d.

## PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

*Technical co-operation under the Colombo Plan.* Report for 1959-60 of the Council for Technical Co-operation in South and South-East Asia. pp. 78. Tabs., Append. 1960. 4s. 6d.

### MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Central health services council. *The pattern of the in-patient's day.* pp. 27. Tabs. 1961. 2s.

*Special Hospitals.* Report of working party. pp. 24. 1961. 1s. 3d.

### MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH FOR SCOTLAND

*Medical staffing structure in the hospital.* Report of the joint working party. pp. 89. Tabs. 1961. 5s.

### SOUTH OF SCOTLAND ELECTRICITY BOARD

*Annual report and accounts*, 1960. H.C. 130. pp. vii, 49. Folding map. 1961. 4s. 6d.

*Annual report and accounts*, 1960 (including the Report of the Electricity Consultative Council for the South of Scotland district). H.C. 130. pp. 49. illus. folding map. 1961 4s. 6d.

### TREASURY

*Economic survey* 1961. Cmnd. 1334. Tabs. 1961. 3s. 6d.

*The financial and economic obligations of the nationalised industries.* pp. 15. Cmnd. 1337. 1961. 1s.

*Financial statement* (1961-2). Copy of statement of revenue and expenditure as laid before the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer when opening the Budget. pp. 38. Tabs. 1961. 2s. 6d.

*Government expenditure below the line.* Cmnd. 1338. pp. 30. Tabs. 1961. 1s. 6d.

*Preliminary estimates of national expenditure.* 1955-1960. Cmnd. 1333. pp. 15. Tabs. 1961. 1s. 3d.

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